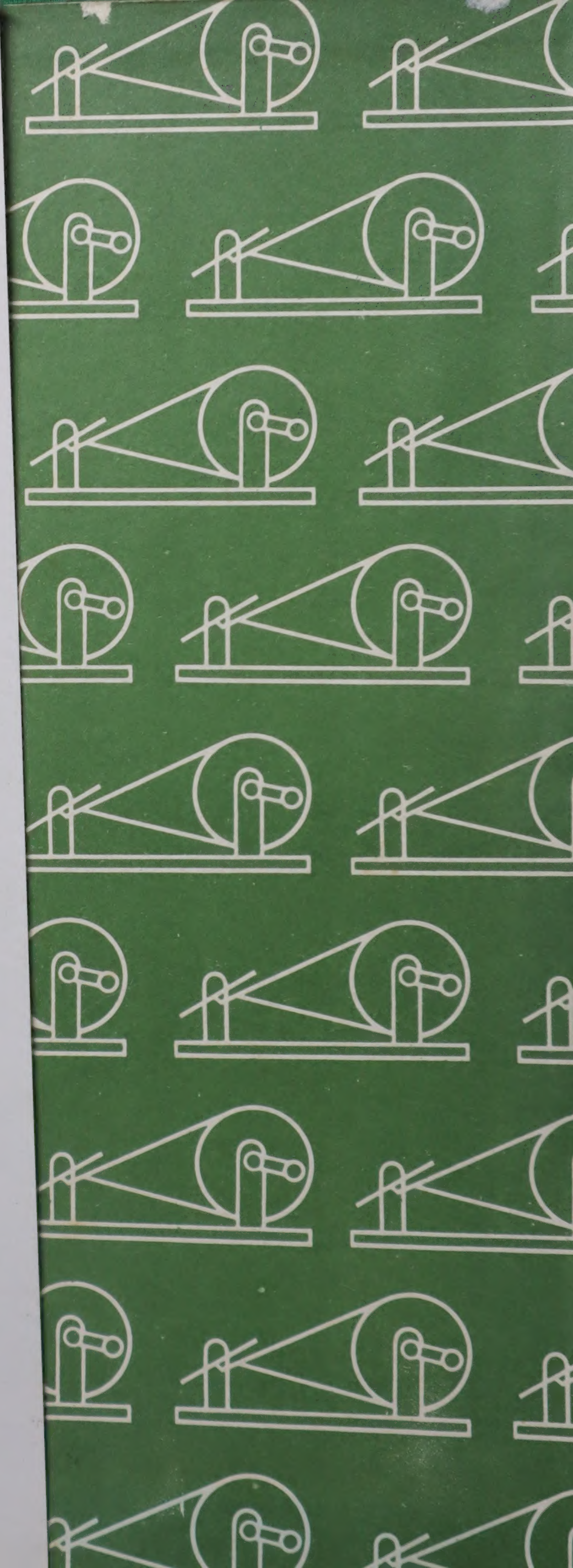
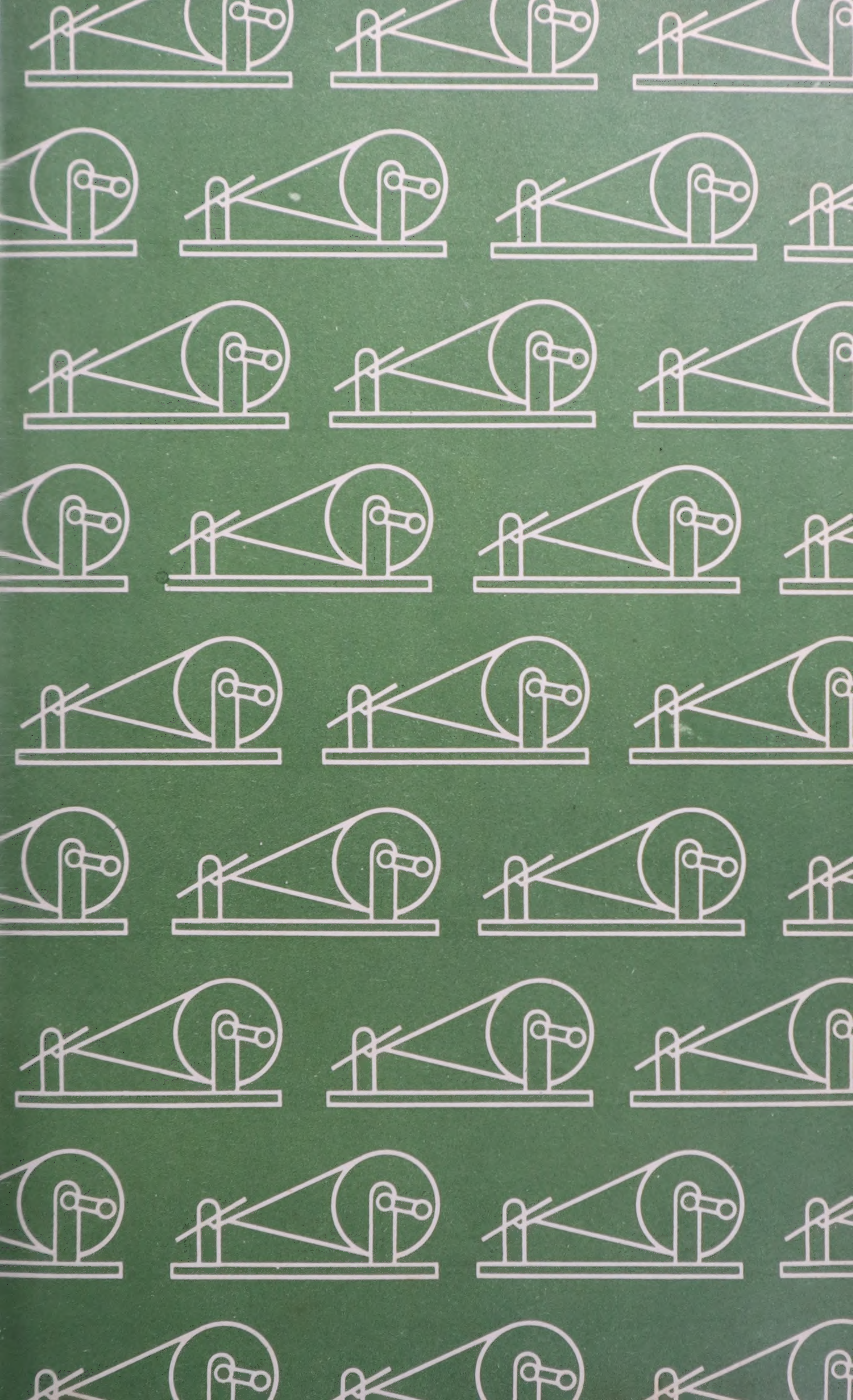
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

VOLUME NINETY-FOUR
(SUPPLEMENTARY-IV)

PUBLICATIONS DIVISION





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PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

August 1994 (Bhadrapad 1916)

© Navajivan Trust Ahmedabad

ISBN : 81-230-0235-1

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
PATIALA HOUSE NEW DELHI-110 001

Sales Emporia • Publications Division

SUPER BAZAR CONNAUGHT CIRCUS NEW DELHI-110 001

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BOMBAY-400 038

8 ESPLANADE EAST CALCUTTA-700 069

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PATNA-800 004

PRESS ROAD THIRUVANANTHAPURAM-695 001

10-B STATION ROAD LUCKNOW-226 019

STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM BUILDING PUBLIC GARDENS
HYDERABAD-500 004

PRINTED AT :- M. G. PRINTER & STATIONERS GALI LEHSWA, NEW DELHI

PREFACE

During the period covered by this Volume (July 18, 1941–April 1947) Gandhiji had been the busiest person. In fact the matter pertaining to this period has already been covered in our fourteen volumes (Vols. LXXIV to LXXXVII). What necessitates the existence of this volume is the matter which we received when the volumes in which it was to be included were already published. When we began aranging the residuary matter again in a chronological order, it made four volumes, the present volume being the last (though not of the entire series). Text-wise the series goes up to Volume XCVII. Two volumes of cumulative Subject Index and Name Index, as also a Volume of Prefaces make the series a hundred-volume set. In fact what ends with the present volume is chronology within the chronology.

The volume carries important correspondence of Gandhiji with persons instrumental in deciding the fate of new India, precious documents, useful discussions and timely decisions. It has Gandhiji's draft for Congress Constitution which reflects his concern for the nation in general and villages in particular (pp. 227-9), followed by his reflections on Congress Constitution (p. 229). Gandhiji prepares a resolution on the Indian resisters in South Africa. This resolution is on behalf of the AICC and praises the Indian settlers in South Africa who once more offered "satyagraha in the land of its birth against a law imposing on them a colour bar far more sinister than the one against which they had put up a brave fight between 1907 and 1914 ". The AICC "congratulates the handful of satyagrahis on their brave but unequal action against heavy odds" (p. 284).

Gandhiji formulates steps for the Congress-League coalition at the centre. The move for this was initiated by Bhulabhai Desai in early January 1945 (pp. 184-5). Jinnah and Liaquat Khan's stand worries Gandhiji. Government starts arrests and Gandhiji instructs Bhulabhai "to talk in a firm tone and tell the Viceroy that this will not do" (p.187). Not only this, Gandhiji had other fears too. He says "Viceroy will create Hindu Mahasabha and other such parties. But we are not accepting them. There are only two parties Congress and League. Sikhs and Harijans we have accepted as a concession" (p. 188).

Pethick-Lawrence in his letter to Abul Kalam Azad had invited Congress to discussions on the basis of a scheme which, *inter alia,* envisaged "two groups of Provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu Provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim Provinces" with residuary "sovereign rights". Azad had objected to the classification of the Provinces in terms of "predominantly Hindu and predominantly Muslim" and also to the term sovereign being applied to the residuary rights. Pethick-Lawrence in his reply expressed his inability to make any "textual alterations" in the proposal as conveyed in his letter. In a draft reply to Lord Pethick-Lawrence on the same subject, which was to be sent by Abul Kalam Azad, Gandhiji clarifies his position: "You yourself admit that your scheme is a recommendation. Therefore at no stage can there be any compulsion read into it. The Congress has never taken the power nor has it any desire to compel a single unit. And I know, as a matter of fact, that neither the Frontier Province nor Assam nor the Sikhs of the Punjab will submit to any compulsion. They have signified their intention of not joining any group whatsoever. All I wish to say is that the scheme cannot be used for the purpose of compelling acceptance by any unit or group. The whole beauty of it resides in its voluntary character which should not be impaired. But, of willingness to conclude a treaty will always be there. But the treaty must be a voluntary act on the part of Independent India. If it presupposes compulsion, there is no Independence."

At the same time he writes notes on Interim Government to be sent to Qaide Azam M.A. Jinnah by Jawaharlal Nehru: "No reference to the Viceroy at any stage on any matter; League to nominate all League quota of Muslims whenever vacancy occurs; Congress to nominate other members including other minorities including nationalist Muslims; communal safeguards shall be decided by joint consultation subject to reference to arbitration in point of difference; Vice-President to be from the Congress; the Chairman of the inner cabinet to be the leader of the House; the Congress would like Q.A. to join the I.G."

Gandhiji had been cautious enough in his correspondence on important subjects even if it was done by someone else and he simply prepared the draft. Secondly, he had a very firm stand and he would stick to it come what may. Extracts from his two letters to Abul

Kalam Azad can be quoted to prove this: "Lawrence told me last night that you had written to him suggesting some alterations in his letter and that he had sent you a reply. What is all this? I could not say much in the matter but I did not like it. I am perplexed. It looks like I shall have to go to Simla. The mind shrinks from the thought. I feel somewhere in some way we are committing a mistake" (p. 271).

"The third is a personal matter. Ever since I first heard the Viceroy's proclamation, that is, while I was still at Panchgani, I have been shouting that the Congress cannot accept the principle of parity between Muslims and non-Harijan Hindus, an organization of Hindus alone. Even if I am the only one among crores to do so, I shall refuse to be a party to it. I do not care if the negotiations break down on this, for I know and believe that the moment you try to form a national government at the centre in this way you will be laying a wrong foundation" (p. 212).

He was equally firm on the issue of British army of occupation to leave India. In a letter to Major Short he writes: "The note is something quite different from what you said yesterday. For one thing it does not contemplate independence. It seems to take Pakistan for granted. As I said yesterday nothing can be done so long as the British Army of occupation remains. The people can't be natural so long as their territory is occupied. Therefore, there is no meeting-ground in the note" (p. 272). In his letter to Horace G. Alexander he endorses his stand: "you have frankly given me your reaction to the situation in Calcutta. I wholly endorse your first reaction. It is in every way undesirable for the Congress to rely upon British troops or even police for upholding authority and keeping law and order. It is tantamount to suicide."

This busy man believes in constantly working for a mission. For him, "Man is not a lifeless machine, though he should work like a machine; he is a conscious being and while working as a machine he should work with faith and intelligence, that is to say, with his heart and his mind. Only then will he shine and succeed in his effort" (p. 208).

On Howard Goldstein's invitation to Gandhiji to attend the San Francisco Conference at Glendora in the suburbs of Los Angeles, Pyarelal replies on behalf of Gandhiji: "He has not much faith in the value of more verbal talks. He is trying to forge the message of non-violence through his work in India. If he shows visible success here the world will get the message it needs. Therefore the conscientious objectors who are going to meet near Glendora would do well to closely study what he has been saying and doing in India. Particularly, they should study his writings preceding and after the 8th August, 1942 – Resolution of the Congress. They reflect the working of a non-violent mind in the face of the greatest crisis in the world's history" (p. 208).

Gandhiji has a firm faith in non-violence and he goes on educating people about it: "I can understand the hardship resulting from the refusal of the farmers to sell the stocks of grains lying with them to the Government at rates lower than they can afford. But the looting of Government grain stocks cannot be called non-violent whether it is done after serving prior notice or not" (p. 124). "I cannot include acts like sabotage of railways, etc., in non-violence" (p. 124). "It is of course not easy to decide a programme for someone who is bent upon facing bullets in a non-violent way but it is not impossible. One is not duty bound to give one's name. Informing about the action contemplated would suffice. If at the time fixed one finds that no one has come to the spot because the notice, being anonymous, had been thrown away, another notice can be sent. If this is done again and again, one day the tiger is sure to come. However, do not conclude from this that I consider the programme mentioned in the second question non-violent even if carried out after giving prior information" (p. 124).

It was the time of the World War II which Gandhiji condemns as a crime against humanity: "The rivers of blood that are daily flowing in this war which is without parallel in barbarity and ferocity should convince even the confirmed sceptic of the utter immortality of the war. Except for hypnotism which hardens even the sense of perception, there should not be any difficulty in perceiving the crime against humanity which the present war means" (p.53). Gandhiji seems to have been advising not only everyone in the Congress but perhaps on every subject also. Here is an extract from Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru: "It dwells on the question of who should be the Congress President in view of the fact that you will be the Prime Minister. You incline in favour of Maulana Saheb. This I do not understand and cannot understand. In my view, Maulana Saheb should not accept nomination. Maulana Saheb hesitates to accept ministership. The responsibilities of the President, especially in the present juncture are I feel arduous. But in my view it is not the only reason why he should not be president. I cannot accept, too, that other than Maulana Saheb, Sardar Patel and Rajendra Babu, no suitable person can be found.

"I cannot definitely say who else will be suitable because I am not any more in very close touch with the Congress organization.

"One thing more. It is also a question as to who should be the President of the Constituent Assembly. I shall not write anything more about it now, because it is not certain whether the Constituent Assembly will meet"(p. 296).

He had advised K.M. Munshi to leave the Congress as the latter could not conform to the explicit Poona Resolution of the Congress on internal disorders, passed on July 28, 1940. In the course of his discussions with Gandhiji, Mr. Munshi had accepted in the abstract the principle of ahimsa with all its implications, but felt the greatest difficulty in acting upon it. During the riots in Bombay he thought it was difficult to convince Hindus to defend themselves through ahimsa. With him the question was not one of interpretation of Congress Resolutions but of being truthful to himself and to the country. Gandhiji advised him that the only dignified and brave course for him was to resign from the Congress. This much had already been covered in detail in Vol. LXXIV. In the present Volume Gandhiji in a letter to Sarojini Naidu explains: "I cannot be held responsible for what he does after severing his connection with the Congress. Those who know me understand that such influence as I can exert on Shri Munshi must still be on the side of non-violence. Those who do not trust me will impute motives to me which I can only disprove by my conduct" (p. 1).

Gandhiji is throughout busy – sending Jawaharlal Nehru to have discussion with Maharaja of Kashmir, advising T. Prakasam on the latter's ambitious programme of Basic Education and Industries in Madras State as also asking him to provide full facts regarding Sriramulu's resolve to go on fast on the issue of Harijan-entry in temples, writing to H.S. Suhrawardy on Hindu-Muslim question in Bihar and clarifying to Lord Samuel the position of Congress on forming a truly national government.

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, other than that available in mere copies, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors, Quoted passages, where there are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing is ascertainable.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya), New Delhi and C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

A list of sources relating to the matter covered is given at the end of the volume.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume we are indebted to the Gandhi National Museum and Library (Rashtriya Gandhi Sangrahalaya), New Delhi; India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London; Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; Sarabhai Foundation and Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; Shri Arjun Jairamdas, Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, Smt. Beladevi Nayyar, Shri C.R. Narasimhan, Shri K.M. Munshi, Dr. Priyamvada Mathur, Shri Pyarelal, Dr. Sushila Nayyar; and the publishers of the books : *Li Hun Avun Chhun, Manavtana Prahari – Pannalal Jhaveri, Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, Sansmarno,Sardar Patel's Correspondence Vol. I,* and the following newspaper : *(The) Hindustan Times.*

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1. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),
July 18, 1941

MY DEAR SINGER,

I have been too busy seeing people to overtake even important letters like yours.

As to Mr. Munshi[1], my position is clear. When he could not conform to the explicit resolution[2] of the Congress on internal disorders, I had no option but to advise him to leave.[3] I cannot be held responsible for what he does after severing his connection with the Congress. Those who know me understand that such influence as I can exert on Shri Munshi must still be on the side of non-violence. Those who do not trust me will impute motives to me which I can only disprove by my conduct.

As to the workers, they are bound by the Congress resolution I have quoted in my letter to Shri Munshi. The Congress policy binds them to non-violence in the struggle with the Government as also in dealing with communal riots and the like. Is not this crystal clear ?

Love.

Yours,
SPINNER

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

---

2. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),
July 18, 1941

DEAR SINGER,

I agree that I should move about if I can. But I must repudiate the charge that my judgment goes astray by my being cut off from outside contact. I have breathed not a word about the undue deaths. And in my letter to Padmaja, I simply told her what the papers had suggested. Mark my extraordinary care in avoiding all public reference without testing the truth of the allegations through no less an authority than sober Padmaja. I therefore accept your apology in anticipation.

---

[1] K. M. Munshi

[2] Passed at Poona on July 28, 1940

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXIV, pp. 112-14.

Love.

SPINNER

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

3. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have told Prabha to write you a long letter today and it will be going with this. Now you have to spend only six days there. Yes, if you have a chance of gaining experience in different hospitals during this year I should like it, that is, if you are able to get away from Delhi for a few months. If you can have a month in Bombay, a month in Calcutta and a month in Madras, your experience would be enriched. The necessary arrangement can be easily made. I expect you to be so well prepared this time that there will be no doubt at all about your passing, and you will have also gained a lot of experience.

Kishorelal has already written to you about Tari[1] yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

4. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 19, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You will not be required to go to Panchgani. Taribehn is welcome. But I think she may as well go to Delhi. Just across there is a hospital with air-conditioning facilities. Ghanshyamdas[2] has drawn my attention to it.

---

[1] Tara, daughter of Kishorelal Mashruwala

[2] Ghanshyamdas Birla

Das's patient is doing quite well. He is taking 2 lb. of milk. Khan Saheb is still running a slight temperature. He is taking milk and Ovaltine. Today he was also given some soup.

Mahadevbhai is going to Bombay today. He will no doubt meet you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

5. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TRIKAMDAS

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C. P.),
July 19, 1941

BHAI PURUSHOTTAM,

These days all my time is taken up with meeting people. As a result I am only today in a position to deal with five or six days' accumulated post. Your letter forms part of it.

The question of the Soviet Union is too deep for you to understand. In this matter I have appointed Jawaharlal my captain. What you say is perfectly true. Had he been a free man he would certainly have taken some steps. Today's Russia is not the Russia of Lenin. And Russia is not a small country. Vanquishing Russia will be an arduous task. Russia has no use for mere lip sympathy. Moreover England is already assisting her and when England is there, India which is England's slave is also there. How can those who stand for a free India speak in the matter ? Such are my difficulties. Therefore in this regard you may as well forget me.

Now about Salivati. It is good you had her message conveyed to Jawaharlal. The Poona resolution is as good as dead. But I am not going to answer any questions from reporters. My silence is dear to me.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From the Gujarati original : Purushottamdas Trikamdas Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

6. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
July 19, 1941

CHI. LILI,

Your complaint is justified. I was caught in a very heavy schedule of work. Now there is hope of a little respite. You have deliberately spoilt your health. You used to have a sense of balance. Now eat well and improve your health. Keep me fully posted. Mahadev will have given you the razor. Clean it by applying oil on it. Now you may have to give up tea. I shall not be able to tolerate even slow or any other type of fever or ailment. Your good health should never be spoilt. If necessary, take some leave and come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
KANJI KHETSI CHHATRALAYA
MINT ROAD
BOMBAY FORT

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

7. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no post from you today. Taribehn must have arrived there. Examine her and let me know.

You had mentioned something about breaking a glass. How crazy you are ! If you go on paying every time something breaks, all your funds will be exhausted. Hence, give up that idea.

Kanchan and Kusum Desai have come today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

8. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have of course been writing to you at the hospital address as you desired. It is surprising that you have not received the letters. This letter is also being sent at the same address. I hope your going to another hospital will not make any difference.

Enclosed is a letter from Dr. Gopichand addressed to you. Here too the rains have stopped, and hence the days are hot. The nights are lovely.

Khan Saheb runs temperature between 99° and 89.4°. The temperature is normal in the morning. Bhansali has fallen ill. He has gout in the legs. He has been fasting since yesterday and has taken saline.

Veeramma drank potassium permanganate in a fit of anger.[1] It was immediately discovered. She was given lime to drink and made to vomit. She became all right.

Soon it will be the 25th !

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

9. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),
[*July 22, 1941*][2]

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

If the measure is compulsory, your school has to submit. If it is optional, you may ignore it.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
LAJPATRAI BHAVAN
LAHORE, PUNJAB

From the original : Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

---

[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXIV, p. 174.

[2] From the postmark

10. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 22, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Whatever the cost of the glass, you have to bear it. But you must definitely have stamps in your pocket. You could have taken them from Dr. Gilder. Right now you are excused even for that.

I think whatever may have been decided about Pyarelal's stay there, etc., is appropriate.

Now I shall be writing you only one letter.

You have quite a few patients to handle. Kunvarji[1] is causing some anxiety. You did well in going to Jugatram[2].

Now there is not much time. You should receive all my letters.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

11. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1941

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

This is about your letter of 14th. I have found you to be weak in action and that out of your overgoodness. Overgoodness leads to weakness. It means a disposition not to offend people even at the cost of suppression of truth. My firm advice to you is that you should talk to Mian Saheb[3] with the utmost candour and he will respond. If he has suspicion he will tell you so. He is young and inexperienced but straight and brave. This is my analysis of him. You should have gone to Solan and Simla. When he definitely asked you not to go to Manorlal, it was well to respect his wishes. But you were not bound always to carry out his wishes except in strict Congress matters. You must build up your opinions and enforce them when enforcement becomes a duty. It is wrong to seek imprisonment in order to gain relief from squabbles or suspicion fancied or real of one's chief. Such imprisonment is harmful.[1]

---

[1] Kunvarji K. Parekh

[2] Jugatram Dave

[3] Mian Iftikhar-ud-din

I refrain from guiding you in the matters referred to by you, till you have become even with Mian Saheb. If you have really forfeited his confidence, my advice would be for you to retire from the Congress activities without any fuss. You have ample other useful work. Men like you cannot work half-heartedly or under shadow of mistrust or suspicion.

I have not heard from Mian Saheb at all for weeks now. I do not think I had anything from him save one letter to Rajkumari after the last visit.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat : Jayaprakash Narayan Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

---

12. LETTER TO H. R. STIMSON[2]

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1941

DEAR MR. STIMSON,

Here are my answers :

1. No modification necessary. My advice to the Russians would be precisely the same as to the British. It is a cruel misrepresentation of my advice to the British to say that it was one of non-resistance. I suggested non-violent resistance which is any day superior to violent, blood-thirsty resistance.
2. I am entirely satisfied with the progress and achievements of my limited non-cooperation campaign as you call it and which I describe as civil disobedience.
3. It is a difficult question to answer definitely. But I do not mind it being said that the majority are non-violent only out of policy. That is the weakest part of my campaign but it is inevitable. In

---

[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXIV, pp. 149-51.

[2] An Associated Press correspondent had sought Gandhiji's views on the following points:

(i) whether Gandhiji's policy of non-violence advocated to the British would apply to the Russians also, or would it need any modification; ii) whether Gandhiji was satisfied with the progress of non-cooperation; (iii) how many of his followers really believed in non-violence; (iv) whether in view of the widespread rioting in the country, India could still have the unity and strength to forge her own destiny.

spite of the appearances to the contrary it is my belief that true non-violence is growing among the people.

4. I have no doubt whatsoever that in spite of the riots, etc., India will have the moral strength and unity to forge her own destiny in her own way. Twenty years of solid work cannot be a waste.

I hope you can decipher my writing and that if you publish my reply, it will be published as it is, *in toto*.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : Jayaprakash Narayan Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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13. LETTER TO SHEIKH MOHAMMED ABDULLAH

SEVAGRAM,
July 24, 1941

DEAR SHEIKH SAHEB,

You have my apology. You had, I thought, always told me that you were a soldier and I was your general. I see I misunderstood you. I now understand your complaint about Kashmir. I asked Badshah Khan who is with me and he supports me. He vividly recollects the grief he in common with me felt over your obstinacy in opposing my wish to be the state guest not for my pleasure but for the sake of the people of Kashmir.[1] You should know that I cancelled the visit to Kashmir simply to please you. I changed overnight for I learnt that if I came as the people's guest the Durbar would take it amiss. I thought that I could take the liberty I took with my followers as I deemed you to be in altering my plans. But now I see that you were only trying me before becoming my follower. I am sorry I failed in your test.

Now about the Kashmir position. I had no difficulty in giving my provisional opinion about the script. You have put before me an intricate problem on which I dare not give even a provisional opinion.

I appreciate your frankness. I hope you will find no want of it in my reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : Jayaprakash Narayan Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

---

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 42-3.

14. LETTER TO PYARELAL

July 26, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

This time I have specially chosen the persons who should come. You will approve the choice. I did not press anyone. They will make no demand without my telling them. Prabhavati is already here, and Kusum has just arrived. Hence I thought of sending both of them. A.S.[1] wishes to come later on if you wish.

Sushila is bringing two *dhoties* which Ba eagerly got woven for you with the yarn she herself spun.

You must have seen from the press reports that Mahadev is busy at the moment collecting money for the flood relief fund. I am planning to detain Prabhavati here for about three months because Kanaiyo will be going to Bombay to complete the massage treatment. Right now he is engaged in clearing the accounts.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

15. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.),
July 28, 1941

DEAR PLAYMATE,

You have no business to fall ill as often as you do. I expect your further letter and a cheery report about your health. Of course I knew that you would throw yourself into the work entrusted to you.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI PADMAJABEHN NAIDU
ZAHEER MANZIL
RED HILLS
HYDERABAD, DECCAN

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

---

[1] Amtussalaam

16. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You were right. Khan Saheb did not come after all. Now he will be coming on Thursday. Even so it was my duty to observe silence earlier.

I trust you found a seat in the train and have reached home without any trouble. You were actually having a slight temperature. You must completely cure Anasuya.

You must now concentrate on studies. But do not spoil your health in doing so. You have to take full advantage of having failed once. You must study well and gain good experience. I shall send you the *Khadi Jagat*[1].

The lost letter and the charkha are constantly troubling me. The search is on.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Mother will be well.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

17. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 31, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I was pleased that Anasuya accompanied you. I shall be very happy if she comes fully recovered. And if she can be accommodated with you, good work can be done.

Enclosed is Kaka Saheb's report. Dr. Manu has stopped the injections after checking the sugar level, and has also stopped sweet fruit, etc. Is this right ? Now the diet will consist of curds, milk, leafy vegetables, sour lime, etc.

I am of course well.

Khan Saheb has arrived. He is all right. Most probably he will leave on Sunday. He is likely to reach there on Monday. Ask Devdas to take the car to fetch him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

[1] A Hindi monthly published by the A.I.S.A. from Wardha, the inaugural issue of which appeared on July 27, 1941.

18. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[*July 31, 1941*][1]

CHI. SUSHILA,

After you went, you must have received one letter followed by a postcard. Enclosed is the strange letter from Sankaran which you must read and preserve. Annapurna's fear proved right. Sankaran has worked very hard. He is well educated. But women remain his obsession. I cannot decide what can be done about it. I do not want to worry you about it. I shall see about it. But it is necessary that you should be kept informed.

My blood-pressure continues to be satisfactory at the previous level. It seems it was unnecessary for me to take the salted limes that I had been taking. Within four days after I gave up taking the limes, the blood-pressure started coming down. At all the three readings yesterday it was between 150/90. It had considerably gone down the day before yesterday also. Of course, I had been working very hard.

Tari is still here. She will most probably go to the Bal Kutir tomorrow. It will be some time before it gets vacated.

Madalasa is doing fine. Mahesh's[2] pain seems to have gone now. Miss Moore is also feeling better.

For the present at least, Ba is able to have good walks. She is feeling quite energetic.

Your letter was received today. Kaka's urine was found to contain sugar and acetone. I would be happy to send him there. Mahmud is very benevolent.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

19. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 1, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I know Khan Saheb's nature. He would surely expect that I should talk when he comes. There certainly had been a mistake, it occurs to me as I write this. He was to arrive in the morning, and so it would have been all right if I had started talking later. As it happened, I was having my massage when he arrived. He could not wait the while and barged in while the massage was going on and engaged me in talk. Love is a remarkable bond. But that is all right.

---

[1] From the reference to Tarabehn Mashruwala's departure for Bal Kutir; *vide* pp. 11-12.

[2] Prof. Maheshdutta Mishra, ex-M.P. and freedom fighter

Kanu is going to Rajkot today. His mother lost one of her eyes through glaucoma and there is danger of her losing the other eye too. She is to be operated on. She is refusing to have the operation without seeing Kanu. Hence his abrupt visit.

Tari will be going to Bal Kutir today.

God will look after me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

20. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

August 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

What shall I do ? I am so busy that I am unable to write letters and I am not happy not writing. It never happens that I do not think of you when I have the massage while bathing. Hence, I cannot say when it was that I particularly remembered you.

Instead of going tomorrow Khan Saheb left today. I have sent a telegram to Devdas. Puri has also gone with him. Prabha has also left. She has gone to Patna. She will be returning on the 15th.

In spite of all indications, it is not raining here.

Tari gets fever between 99°-102°. And she cannot pass stool without enema.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

21. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 3, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. I do go to see Tari every morning. I felt it could not be avoided. I do not feel tired. Since I take a short-cut, there is only a slight increase in blood-pressure. Once she is on the way to recovery, I may not go.

Enclosed is Kaka's letter. Koyaji is a renowned and elderly doctor and is conversant with everything that is new. I have written to Kaka that he should go to Poona and spend some days there. Give your suggestions if you have any.

Kanchan's health cannot be called good. She frequently falls ill. I should like to keep her with you for a long while if she agrees. Would you wish that ? Would she not be a burden to you ? Can she be kept in the hospital as a voluntary nurse ? Or, can she be kept at your house ? Would it be a burden to Mother if she were to stay at your place ? Write to me after thinking everything over. There is certainly no hurry.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

22. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.),
August 4, 1941

MY DEAR BULBUL,

Your love letter which is also business letter. Of course you are working there and wearing yourself out. Take care that you don't disappear before me. So you go to Hyderabad, and do the diplomatic work.

As usual you have come out with your wise suggestion. I am writing to Chhatari[1].

I know you will come to my view that it is not time yet for me to move out. I am doing better work remaining in Sevagram.

Love.

SPINNER

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

---

[1] Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhatari, Member of the National Defence Council

23. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

SEVAGRAM,
August 4, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your two letters arrived together. I understand about Kaka. I have sent the report of Koyaji's examination yesterday. He will be careful.

It will be good if Anasuya's health improves.

I am sending the letters concerning Kunvarji, as also the letter from Mathuradas. In your letter to the doctor you have not thanked him for his help in Bombay. Or, have you already written him a letter of thanks ?

I shall see about Sankaran. Annapurna will not be coming there. She wants to go to Gujarat after the *rentia baras*. She wishes to have training in khadi work. Ba will carry on as before. I have not put on any weight. It was 99 1/2 1b. yesterday. I am considering taking garlic. I am not able to decide. Its odour is offensive. I dare not increase the quantity of food. The blood-pressure is well under control. I shall warn Ba about moving about. But when she has energy, nobody can control her. You write to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Miss Moore left on Saturday. So, I have sent Pyarelal's watch through her.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

24. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

August 5, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. I have increased my quota of food from today. I have also started taking garlic from today. The sin of the foul odour is on your head and also the sin of any harm that may come from its use.

I tried to persuade Ba but so long as she has the energy, she will exert herself. Of course, she is eating well.

Mahadev has not yet returned. And he is so deep in fund collection that there are no letters from him.

Some eight persons at Nalwadi have got diarrhoea at the same time. I have sent Dr. Das. Manu has already reached there. Now there will be some news.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

25. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
August 6, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. What you say is not correct. It seems you have not understood at all the nature of the struggle this time. It is no good people going to jail simply because others have done so. If there are poor people who want to do constructive work but cannot you will be needed to organize them. You will be needed even if there is a riot again. It will do even if no one from Gujarat goes to jail for the present. If you and others do not handle the crisis of floods, who else will ? Why can't you see that ?

Your letter bespeaks cowardice and impatience. It does not behove you. I shall explain further if you come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

If you did not leave Gujarat now to go anywhere, I would be happy.

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11218. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

26. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 6, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your two letters together today. You are unnecessarily worrying about me. I am well enough to be able to say that God will look after me. I have no fear. I have already written that I have increased the milk quota and started taking onions and garlic.

Do not worry. Concentrate on your studies and see that you not only pass but there is nothing in the field worth knowing that you do not know. I want you to have the ability to formulate a plan for a small or big hospital and to say what it should be like, and to map out a plan for rural health. All this is possible only if you become a *sanyasini* for one year.

Sharma's case is as you describe. But I have the impression that he is honest. There is no need to ask Mahadev because I know his opinion. You can be of great use if you can control yourself. But if your joining this interferes with your studies, I do not wish to involve you. Hence, instead of leaving it to me, give your independent view.

Let Tari be here for the present. If her health deteriorates I shall send her there. She seems to be happy that she is able to live independently. I meet her every morning.

On second thoughts, I feel that I should not involve you in the Sharma affair. Forget it. You should not be saddled with that responsibility.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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27. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
August 7, 1941

CHI. LILI,

Received your *rakhi*. Do not give up the injections for fear of expense. If the injections have helped you, continue to take them and recover completely. Who is the doctor ? What are the injections ? Lakshmidas has taken Kanu's place in the office. Dhiren does the massage.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
KANJI KHETSI CHHATRALAYA
65 MINT ROAD
BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

28. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. What a letter ! Why this despondency ? You have not failed and left me. Why do you allow yourself to be affected by what other people may say ? That is not scientific thinking. A good doctor should be of steadfast intellect. Hence, you will truly be an M.D. when you develop a sense of detachment and do not let yourself be affected by anything whatever. This is also something that medical science has to deal with. You will not find any cure for it in the *Materia Medica*. You have to discover it yourself. You are now making up for your previous inadequate study for the examination. You are surely going to study well this time. If you remain disturbed and do not concentrate on your studies like a true seeker, not only you but I too will have to lose face. Hence, prepare yourself. Get rid of the despondency and concentrate on your studies.

As for a medical job, I certainly advise you to take permission to spend three months at Lahore. I am not in the least troubled that you will give up your job to gain experience in different hospitals. Let me bear the expenses whatever they may be. It will be no burden to me. After all in the end you have to work for me.

I shall think about Tari. Ultimately I may have to send her to you. Kanchan is bed-ridden. She is running temperature. I have not given her quinine yet. I am giving her milk and *mosambi* juice.

I shall see about Kaka. The *raakhi* duly arrived. A.S. has taken it and gone to meet him. She will give it to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Dr. Sushila Nayyar

29. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

August 7/8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I am writing this after A.S.'s arrival. She tied the *raakhi* on Pyarelal. Right from the morning Pyarelal had a feeling that someone would visit him. So he was very happy to see A.S. They talked of this and that. He was in a happy mood. His health also was better than last time. He feels better because he has now been getting green vegetables.

On the back of this is Kunvarji's letter. Read it.

I shall write more tomorrow if there is anything worth writing. You must have received the letter posted today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

There is no letter from you today. Kanchan is feeling well today. Tari likes being here but she is suffering from constipation.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Dr. Sushila Nayyar

30. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

August 9, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Because you do not mark your letters 'Personal', they are opened, but nobody reads them.

You worry unnecessarily. What makes you think that I shall not do as you say ? I have already written to you that I have increased my milk quota by 50 per cent. I am also trying to take more *rotis*. I have of course started taking garlic and onions. Now let me see what happens. Since I take a shorter route, there is no appreciable increase in walking. I am taking great care. Do not worry.

Now I shall close as Jajuji has come.

Kanchan is having fever today too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

31. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 10, 1941

DEAR LOTUS-BORN,

I learn on good authority that you are not behaving properly and are wearing yourself out with work. You are hereby required not to be so stupid and make yourself ill.

Love.

PLAYMATE

SHRI PADMAJA NAIDU
RED HILLS
HYDERABAD DECCAN

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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32. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

August 10, 1941

CHI. MATHURADAS,

Your letter has just arrived. Radha's letter too arrived at the same time. I am sending it to you. I think it would not be good to make her give up the job she has got. You may disregard the money. You may disregard experience. But you may not disregard the loss of reputation. Is it Radha's medical knowledge you need or just her company ? If you want only the company, why not have Bindu ? Or should I find somebody else ? It is embarrassing that just when you expressed a desire to call her, Radha finds herself in an awkward situation.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

33. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

August 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Sankaran's letter is enclosed. My weight has increased by 1 lb. Do not worry about me and concentrate on your work. I do not at all like that you should remain unhappy. There is absolutely no reason for it. You must understand that if you become dispirited and disheartened or if you fail, I will be held responsible for it, and justifiably, because when you were not in very close touch with me, you succeeded in everything you did. There was nothing like disappointment. From your association with me would your qualities be further enriched or would they be diminished ? I know that nothing is going to be achieved by argument. Association with people has a subtle influence. We cannot free ourselves from it. Let us see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

There is no need to thank Dr. Jivraj again. A letter had already been sent to him. The reply has also been received.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

34. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

August 11, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your letter has arrived only today. You will have fully recovered by now.

I did not have any particular hospital in mind. Let us first see someone making a donation of Rs. 30 lakhs. Only then will you be in a position to say what kind of a hospital could be run with that amount, and what kind with a hundred rupees. I know this is very difficult. But does not the M. D. degree mean the capacity to know the most difficult things ? Only you can say whether all this is possible through a study course of one year. Perhaps an M.D. is not required to have knowledge of this kind. But even if that be so, I would expect you to have that knowledge, because I have observed that medical skill is a god-given gift to you, so that you are able to turn your reading and observation into something good.

Had I known that you would be so upset by your failure I would not have allowed you to appear for the examination at all. I should have respected Pyarelal's knowledge of you and gone with his advice. But I thought in my pride that I too knew you well. I also assumed in my pride that you had developed detachment to a certain extent after being in contact with me. But it is no use crying over spilt milk. Now as far as possible try to forget your failure at the last examination and work hard to pass the next examination. There should be no obstacle to it.

I commend your resolve not to seek any financial help. But even there, stubbornness would not be proper. If you need to have more free time for the sake of your examination, then you must accept such help.

I am treating Kanchan myself. Her fever is decreasing but not completely gone. Even water tastes bitter to her. That is why I am not giving her food. I shall give her everything when she recovers. I shall not keep her just on milk and fruit.

I have understood about Anasuya. Increase in weight by 3 1b. is quite good. It will be nice if the progress can be maintained.

Do not think it is your duty in any way to call Kanchan there. Call her only if you can do so without trouble.

I am of course taking good care of myself. I do not tire myself by walking.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

35. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 11/12, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Enclosed is an extract from Dr. J.'s letter concerning Balkoba and Mathuradas for your perusal. Let me have your comments if there are any.

Blessings from
BAPU

August 12, 1941

I have your letter. Why are you falling ill ? You will find here the details about my diet. I find that I cannot increase the milk quota. I had to reduce it today. But the decrease will not make much difference in the calories. Is Sankaran's calculation correct ? What changes would you suggest in it ? The blood-pressure is all right. I shall get a weekly report prepared and send it to you. Tari is fine.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

36. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 13, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Your cold has persisted too long. Here I would not have allowed it to continue so long.

How can I remove your anxiety about me ? I am sending herewith the blood-pressure figures. Wherever you find them higher, it was because of extreme cold or food or some similar cause. On one occasion I went to bed late. There is nothing to complain of about my health. I do not visit Tari daily.

Kanchan is well. Her fever can be considered to have gone. I understand about you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

37. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. A.S. has gone today to get her dentures. She will try to meet Pyarelal.

The enclosed letter is addressed to you. I have held back Mahadev's letter. Copy out the portion pertaining to Kripalani and send it to him. He is not here at present.

I have almost given up going to Tari.

Be firm and complete your programme. It seems best to take leave without pay. It is due to obstinacy that you are refusing to take money. Give up all worry and complete your study and gain full experience. That is most important.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

38. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You were to leave one of your pens here. I do not find it here. If it is with you, it is all right. I do not want a new pen.

There is a postcard from Nagpur today addressed to you. It is a reply to your letter : "The prisoner is not legally allowed to meet anyone. And he does not wish to meet anyone in particular." So even if the telephone had been answered, you would have got the same reply.

I hope you did not have much trouble and could catch the train easily. If you remember, write to me how many minutes before time you reached.

Do not fix appointments anywhere. I do not wish to place any burden on you. It would hurt me taking even a moment from your studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

39. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 19, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You will have received mine. You reached well in time. Kunvarji is fine.

The conversation with Natwar is enlightening.

I understand about the house. I shall of course make the arrangements. It is good you wrote.

Enclosed is Balkrishna's letter. Write to him if you wish.

Today Khurshedbehn and Shankerlal are here; also Gulzarilal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

40. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
August 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Sankaran says that one more stethoscope is required because the doctor has to use one. If you also feel that one more stethoscope is needed, you may purchase one and send it here. Kanu is coming tomorrow. But he may come any time. I am not worried. There are many people coming here.

I can see that I shall not be able to eat more. I feel somewhat heavy in the stomach. I am trying hard to follow your instructions, but I realize that that is possible only when you are present here,

Maganlal and Kanchan are free from fever. So also is Appa Saheb.

You will be getting along well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Dr. Sushila Nayyar

41. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your postcard. Kanchan went to Valod yesterday. I have of course given her all the instructions. You may write to her if you wish. Her address is : C/o Maganlal Kalidas, Valod, *via* Madhi, Tapti V. Rly.

It is your duty to go when people are sick and want you. It is your trade; how can you get out of it ? I consulted Dr. Das about Madalasa. He said : "I get the point. I have respect for Dr. Sushila's treatment. But I would not like to give her any medicine." Since she is doing very well, I am not insisting. Mahadev's case is completely in the hands of Dr. Das. I would not dare do anything else in your absence. In other cases, I am of course doing what I can.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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42. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your three letters together.

Sardar has been released. I learn from Mahadev's telephonic talk that you are going there today to examine his polypus. You may go and visit him if he so desires. Kanchan and Maganbhai are free from fever. Neither of them had to be given quinine. Just for trial I had given to Maganlal betel and calotropis leaf. I cannot say whether these helped or the fever went down on its own. Appa is doing well. He had been put on vegetable soup and fruit juice. He was also given a little butter. From today he is being given *roti*. He is feeling better. He does not seem to have any complaint about his throat either.

Annapurna gets temperature up to 99°. Sankaran says that he has swelling of the throat. He will apply something. I am feeling much improved after reducing the food quota yesterday. I had good motion. Eating more may result in a relapse after initial improvement. This is my third attempt after your insistence on my increasing the intake of milk, etc. I have also reduced walking. The work is stopped by 8.30 p.m. It is possible to stop talking altogether about important matters while walking. In the evening I keep my eyes closed both when going out and returning. That does not interfere with the night's sleep.

You must have got over the anaesthesia trouble. Is not Jivraj Mehta in any way concerned with it ?

Are you taking proper food ? I have written this with your pen.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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43. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

August 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today, Taribehn's temperature has again started rising above 99°. Her case is beyond my capacity. But what can I do ? Besides, she is far away.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
C/O ASSTT. DEAN
K. E. M. H.
PAREL, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

44. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
August 24, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I had your letter. The figs arrived today. They seem to be good. I shall give you the corrected draft when you come. It is a matter of saving time. Mummy I hope is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11215. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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45. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your two letters today. It would be honourable and proper for you to be present wherever you are needed.

The cancer patient will have been attended to.

You have not given me Pyarelal's address. Annapurna is being given rest. But she continues to have fever.

I have benefited from the change I have made in my diet. My weight has gone up by 1/2 lb. today. I am taking 5 *tolas* of butter and 4 oz. of *roti*. I take 8 oz. of milk only once in the morning. I shall gradually make the change you have suggested. I shall try to take more fruit. There are new faces around. Ram Saran Das and his daughter-in-law are here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

46. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

August 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Tari was agitated today. Her temperature rose and Dr. Das was called. I had been to see her yesterday. She was very upset. She was fed up with Varoda. I had always had the fear that she would not be able to stay in Varoda. She needs company. She is scared at night. She asked for a male companion. I sent somebody to sleep there. Her fever shot up at night and she was scared. If her fever continues to rise like this, I cannot look after her unless I bring her here. She too cannot stay there.

Now Dr. Das is asking for her case history. Hence, you should put down in English whatever you know of it and send it to me. She is my responsibility till you can take charge of her. I shall get Dr. Das to help, but finally what I wish will be done. Tari is a difficult patient. I cannot say if she will allow my decision to be carried out. This matter is strangely complicated. You should not be burdened with it for the present. I shall try to lighten it as much as I can. Right now send me only her case history. I myself do not have a very clear idea of her trouble. You mentioned some gland. But where is the gland ? Today she told the doctor that she felt pain in the lower abdomen when it was pressed.

This was written before 11 o'clock. I may write more after your letter arrives. Now the bell too has gone.

There is nothing from you today. I am increasing my food intake. I prefer to have more butter than milk.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

47. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your letter today. Dr. Das was not hurt at all. He only replied to what I had asked him.

Tari is contemplating going to the Mahilashram. She does not want to come here. She has no faith in my treatment. She is willing to be with you. She would not like to be at Sevagram. If she goes to the Mahilashram, Kaka Saheb's permission will have to be obtained for a room.

What happened in the case of Sardar was all right.

The anaesthesia problem was bound to be overcome. I shall stop now as Gosibehn is sitting here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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48. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

Personal

August 27, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You have not made a mistake at all. I suggested to you the general rule. It was only proper that you went. I only replied to the question you asked me. You must also go and see the girl. You must go wherever Mahadev desires.

I see from your letter to Sankaran that you are absolutely against my stopping milk. I have kept Annapurna completely on fruit juice and soup of leafy vegetables. That also seems to have done her some good. Explain this to me.

I follow your point about butter. You know I do not like it. I shall gradually increase the milk quota. Butter seems to have had some good effect on the bowel movement. The weight is increasing. I shall of course maintain good health till you come.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Prakash is at Simla. She has met Rajkumari. She was invited for lunch.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

49. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Taribehn would not listen to anyone. She would listen to you or your namesake Sushila. And Sushila also listens to you. Hence, ultimately Tari will be cured only by you. She will not go to Bombay. She will remain here somehow. You alone should give her the injections. If you insist, I shall arrange that she takes them now. You are coming here on the 13th, are you not ? There is information that Pyarelal will be released on Saturday. Kanu will be going to receive him. A. S. went for the second time because she had to go to Nagpur. Otherwise, what you say is correct.

You will be getting along very well.

I have sent Anasuya's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

50. LETTER TO PYARELAL

August 29, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

Kanaiyo is coming to take you. He will tell you everything. I have also written to Mohammed. Sushila has gone to Bombay to acquire more knowledge. The rest when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

51. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Kanaiyo is going to receive Pyarelal. Prabhakar is having high fever today. He has been given quinine injections. I am fine. Do not worry.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
C/O ASSTT. DEAN
K. E. M. HOSPITAL
PAREL, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

52. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

August 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Pyarelal has arrived. I gave him your letter to read. He seems to be in a cheerful mood. We have not talked. Most probably he will come there and also go to Delhi.

Annapurna's fever is not going. Manu is giving her the medicine that was given to Rajkumari. Prabhakar is well. I had thought your suggestion about the diet was to be continued only up to the 13th, when you would be arriving. I shall carry on with what I am taking now and after your arrival on the 13th, shall make whatever changes you suggest. So far, 2 oz. of butter is having good effect. I am gradually increasing the milk quota. The bowel movement has considerably improved. The enclosed cartoons have been brought by Pyarelal. You will like them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

53. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

August 31, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. It was just as well that you did not come. I had in any case planned to send Pyarelal. Your studies are of the utmost importance to me. It is also good that Satya is there.

Tari has gone to stay near the Mahilashram. She can never be comfortable without her friend. She may accompany you to Delhi. She wants to live only in the Harijan Ashram. That will be too far for you. Now it will be difficult to get the car. We shall see about it when you come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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54. *LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI*

SEVAGRAM,
September 1, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your postcard and letter. Is it Mahadev who is blessed in having you as secretary or is it you who are blessed in being Mahadev's secretary ? Who can answer ? Since you have not come I keep postponing revising your writing and attend to other things. You should not fall ill now. Why should I worry about Mahadevbhai ? Good doctors and you, too, are there. Now do not let him work so much.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11216. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

55. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

September 1, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Pyarelal is not going today. Some work remains to be done. And he has promised to be present when Kolaya comes to consult Dr. Das. He is his jail companion. He will definitely start tomorrow (Tuesday). The telegram has been sent today.

You must be knowing about Mahadev's illness. If you do not you would do well to pay a visit there. Mary Barr[1] has arrived. She is also there.

My weight was up by two lb. yesterday. It is now 102 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. This is mainly the result of taking more butter. I am eating two oz. [of it]. The cream formed when milk is boiled is also butter, is it not ? Does it contain anything else ? It is difficult to remove butter after churning buttermilk. There is no difficulty in taking out cream by boiling milk on slow fire.

Prabhakar is free from fever. Akbar is fine. Annapurna's ailment is not yet under control. I have given her very mild doses of megasulpha and sodasulpha. Her tongue is bad; she has no appetite. Her face does not look right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

56. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

September 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have not received your letters for two days. Hence, what can I write ? Besides, I am sending Pyarelal. What more ? Kaka Saheb is sitting before me talking. And so, this much is enough for today.

---

[1] F. Mary Barr who had gone to South Africa

I am counting the days for your arrival. Annapurna is causing anxiety. The rest is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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57. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

The earliest I can hear from you will be the day after tomorrow. It is another matter if you have written on the way. Taribehn is still running a slight temperature. She is still at Sevagram. She may go to Varoda in a couple of days. I have left it entirely to her. You must have resumed your work properly.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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58. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 3, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

It is surprising that there is no letter from you for three days. Pyarelal will have arrived. He does not eat well. See to it there. There is a book called *Princes and Chiefs and Notable Persons in Kathiawad.* Barrister Chudgar writes that he had sent the book. If Pyarelal remembers let him write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
C/O ASSTT. DEAN
K. E. M. H.
PAREL, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

59. LETTER TO PYARELAL AND SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 4, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your two separate letters today. I sent Annapurna to the hospital for a check-up today. The report has not yet been received.

There are a lot of people here today. Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, Manu Subedar, Amala, Munshi and Dadachanaji. Hence, I can write this only with great difficulty.

The Kutchi Meman affair is interesting.

Let Pyarelal start only after settling everything properly.

Sushila does not have to go to Panchgani or anywhere else. She cannot afford to spare even a single day in Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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60. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 5, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your letters have been very irregular of late. Mahadev was down with pneumonia after all. Pyarelal must be having his treatment. Everything should be all right.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
C/O ASSTT. DEAN
K. E. M. H.
PAREL, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

61. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

September 7, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have both your letters. I do hope to be able to meet you in Bombay. If Mathuradas wishes, you must give him a night. The same goes for Mother. Now that so many days have already gone by, a day or two more may as well be spent. Is it not also your duty to satisfy your mother to some extent ? Also, try to find out whether she wants to come here.

See about your spectacles, etc. You need not go leaving things half way.

Enclosed is a letter from Rajkumari.

I shall find out about Chudgar's book. I do not remember to have seen it among the books you had left outside.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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62. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

September 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Would it not be right to say that I have your letter after many days ? I have had two letters from Pyarelal.

I can understand your difficulty in coping with the post. Annapurna's report is enclosed. After the report, she has been put on normal diet. She does take rest. She must also sit. She cannot be lying down the whole time, can she ? She has no cough, no phlegm. She sleeps well. Sankaran insists on her having a check-up done at David's[1]. So I am planning to send her there. If you have any suggestion let me know.

Let Pyarelal stay for a day or two more in Delhi if Mother wishes him to.

---

[1] Dr. David of Nagpur

I have lost one lb. today. My intake of food was certainly somewhat inadequate. I ate less only to maintain good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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63. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Again there is no letter from you today. But, considering your circumstances, I should not expect a letter from you daily.

I have left it entirely to you to decide where Pyarelal has to be operated upon for his gland. You alone can say where it would be best to have it. Your convenience will no doubt be a factor to consider. You will get this on Tuesday. You must free yourself from there on Friday. I should not worry if you are required there for two or three days. But it is possible that the operation may not be over by that time and you may not be able to free yourself from there in time. The earliest it can be done in Delhi would be on the 16th. Pyarelal can reach there on the 11th at the earliest. He will have to spend five days there. If it is necessary he may as well spend those days with Mother. Now think about it yourself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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64. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SEVAGRAM,
September 8, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have received your letter. I do not think it advisable for you to have the operation in Wardha. If facilities are easily available in Bombay or Delhi, I see no need to have it done in Wardha. I would go by Sushila's decision in this matter. If she decides in favour of Bombay, it does not matter if she has to waste two or three days. But she would probably prefer Delhi. She can give more personal attention there. In my opinion Sushila should reach Delhi by the 15th. I would consider unavoidable the time spent in undergoing the operation. One may take into consideration the effect it may have on others. But I would treat it as of very little importance. The main thing is the effect it may have on me and on you. I do not think it will make any difference in this regard. I would not like to detain you with me. I would also not like it if you stayed on there or in Delhi without any valid reason. But so far, not a single day has passed like that. Hence, I am not anxious.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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65. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
September 10, 1941

CHI. LILI,

Man can shape himself only by making his way through the difficulties you have mentioned. Supposing you had all the facilities – a special teacher for each subject coming to the house to teach, a motor-car to take you to college and such royal privileges as no one could ensure you–what would be the worth of your passing the examination ? I had never thought you would become a coward. The help you have been having so far should not go waste. Difficulties vanish when we suffer them. If you have patience, you can reform your superintendent and make your path smooth. Consult Mahadev. In spite of all this, if you cannot carry on, I am helpless. Discontinue the studies. But remember that your discontent will only increase.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

66. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

This is my last letter at the Bombay address. I have not let a single day pass without writing to you. No, I forget. One day did go without it. I just could not write.

Annapurna is doing very well. She is taking rest. She is eating and drinking. I am sending her to David tomorrow.

Rajendra Babu has arrived today. I have not been able to meet him. He is at the bungalow. Sarup is here. She will be leaving tomorrow.

There can be no answer to the reproach you have to face. But you can correct the misconception without getting angry. The misconception will be strengthened if you get angry. But it can be corrected if you do it good-humouredly. In case you do not know, let me tell you that lately I had a letter from Nilla[1] in which she has expressed her longing to come back to me. Because, she says, she found truth only with me. Of course for the one who deliberately makes a mistake, there is no question of correcting the mistake. My loss of one 1b. in weight should be treated only as accidental. My health is good.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

I am sure Pyarelal will have reached there and you will have come to a decision about the operation.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Nilla Cramcook

67. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 13, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

It is good you have gone to Delhi. I would leave the matter of the operation to Dr. Joshi. If he says that considering everything it is advisable to perform the operation, get it done. I would not insist if he does not think it necessary. Get your teeth thoroughly examined. If you do not wish to have it done there, have it done by Bareto. On your return you can stay at Nagpur for a day and have your teeth checked.

As for the books, etc., you may do whatever you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

68. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I hope you found a comfortable seat and reached there without trouble. Remain engrossed in your studies. Annapurna should not be a burden on you.

I was happy that you came at least for a day.

Pyarelal's letter must have been found. He must have contacted the doctor. The glasses and the teeth must be attended to.

The proposal about Mother coming here must not be dismissed. If she is here when you come, you will be free from worry and so will be Mataji. Are children, once they are married, ever of any use to parents ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

69. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

September 15, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Right now at 3.30 p.m. you must be busy at your hospital.

Yesterday Ram Saran Das had all of his teeth extracted and today he has no fever at all. Yesterday Barcto took out his teeth in spite of his fever. He was of the opinion that infection of the gums alone was the cause of his fever and his teeth had to be extracted to cure his fever. Nirmal Singh is quite well. His fever is not wholly gone. He has been kept in a separate room. Otherwise he is all right. Ram Narayan has to go to Nagpur tomorrow to have one tooth extracted and the rest of the teeth cleaned. He has put on weight. My weight was $101\frac{1}{2}$ lb. yesterday. Do not worry about me.

I am not writing a separate letter to Pyarelal. In case the operation has not taken place, he may have even gone away from there. If he is there let him come after he has had his teeth attended to. It is another thing if he wants this done at Nagpur.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Annapurna must be fine; also Anasuya ?

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

70. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

September 17, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I just could not write yesterday. It was a full court to the very end. There should have been a letter from you today but it has not come. There is no letter from your brother either ! I am getting on well. Ram Saran Das is in good shape. Nirmal Singh continues to have fever. His swelling has subsided.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

71. LETTER TO PYARELAL

September 18, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

What a letter from you ! A *tonga* will be arranged if you let me know when you are coming.

You are right about the teeth. Only Bareto should do it.

How will it be a burden to me if Mother comes here ? Ba gets along well with her. She cannot be a burden to anyone here. She can stay on freely if her health remains satisfactory. If she suffers in health we shall see. It would be a matter of satisfaction to her that if she was here she could see you oftener.

Your dejection must go. It should be remembered that there is no reason for it at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Mira could have gone with Devdas for a day.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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72. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I had to keep you without a letter for one day. Pyarelal may or may not be there, and so I am writing to you.

Just as you have been giving good news about the patients there, I can do the same about the patients here. Both are well. Nirmal Singh's ganglion has all but subsided. His fever has come down today. He has not been given anything except lime and soda and since yesterday glucose. He asked for tamarind water which I gave.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

73. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 19, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. It is very good that Annapurna has made herself at home there. She is the type who will adjust anywhere she goes.

I am trying to keep myself in good health even for your sake. Free yourself from worry and go on increasing your knowledge. Everything will be all right.

I have brought Ram Saran Das in Annapurna's place. He is wholly free from fever. He is being given sufficient milk. Following the extraction of his teeth, his face has changed. The bad breath too has largely gone. He himself feels as though he had got a new life. The moment the teeth were taken out, his temperature started going down.

Nirmal Singh too has been improving since yesterday. The ganglion is dissolved. He has not been given milk as yet. He was given barley water today. He himself asked for it. So, there is no patient here. As for Chakrayya, I myself give him food in measured quantities. He is keeping well. I shall not write to Annapurna today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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74. LETTER TO PYARELAL

September 19, 1941

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your letter. I had my doubts about Dr. Joshi. But even such experiences are useful to us. Your reply was of course proper.

Why did the car have to go to Lucknow ? Whatever happens, do not leave anything unfinished there. It does not matter if a couple of days more have to be spent.

Think over what I wrote about Mother yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

75. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I cannot write at length today. There is a pile of letters. The visitors are of course there. The widow of our late colleague Fulchandbhai has come. There are others too. Rajen Babu has also come. The patients are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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76. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

September 21, 1941

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

Miss Moore will deliver this letter to you. She had once stayed in the Ashram. She had so adjusted herself that she had become a member of the family. She wants to meet as many persons as possible in her quest for truth. Put her up and let her see all the activities.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI
SEVASHRAM
MIRZAPUR
AHMEDABAD

From the Gujarati original : S. N. 32780

77. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),
[On or about *September 21, 1941*][1]

CHI. KANTI,

This lady Miss Moore was in the Ashram for a considerable time. She had become friendly with everyone. She travels everywhere. She has particularly asked me to give a letter for you. Hence this one. Meet her with affection and show her whatever she wishes to see.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 11661. Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy : Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad

78. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
September 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Pyarelal writes that you have a slight temperature because of a throat infection. How can you have a bad throat ? Surely you remember the English saying : Physician, heal thyself ! So, both you and Annapurna should get well quick.

Is there any doubt you will be with me for the coming [*rentia*] *baras* ?

Your letter of the 15th was received after a delay of two days. It must have just remained in the letter-box of the post office.

I am getting on quite well. Today my weight was a little over 103 lbs. It means an increase of at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. In other ways too I am quite well. I am more or less sticking to the time of going to bed. I am not able wholly to avoid talking while walking.

All patients are well. Prabhakar is having something like eczema on his hands and legs. Hence, I have kept him on leafy vegetables and fruit. That has done him a lot of good.

What has been decided about Mother ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] From the contents; *vide* the preceding item.

79. *LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU*

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA (C.P.),
September 22, 1941

DEAR SWEET SINGER,

May God be with you in your travail w[hich] is but your anvil to test the gold that is you.

Yours,
SPINNER

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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80. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

September 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Pyarelal did not come.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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81. *LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI*

[After *September 23, 1941*][1]

CHI. PANNALAL,

How could anyone have imagined that Nanibehn would leave us so suddenly ? I cannot forget her ever-smiling face, yet I must. The soul that dwelt in her body is of course immortal. Our concern was with that soul. That remains. Let us emulate her good qualities and character.

---

[1] The period is inferred from the contents. Nanibehn, the addressee's wife, passed away on September 23, 1941.

There is no need to preach anything to you. Gangabehn too is competent.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Manavtana Prahari – Pannalal Jhaveri, p. 33

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82. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

September 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is a letter from you today. I am not happy about your studies getting interrupted for one reason or another. But neither you nor anyone else can do anything about it. It must be as God wills.

Annapurna has also been a burden to some extent. I had thought that she would not get any fever there. She will no doubt recover with your treatment. But I shall be anxious until that happens.

I shall discuss Mother with Pyarelal. Difficulties will certainly arise if things do not turn out the way you write. Mother herself is so considerate that she will not be a burden to me. However, we shall do as you wish. I shall not insist in any way. I shall be fully prepared. I am absolutely fine. All the patients are well. Chakrayya had a fit of epilepsy again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

83. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Pyarelal did not come yesterday. I presume he will be coming today.

I might say I am doing very well. The patients are all fine. The right treatment for Chakrayya still eludes us. Prabhakar's case is peculiar. He is not having fever. He does not suffer from itch because he is not being given food. However, he continues to be troubled by sexual craving, and has discharges frequently. If you can think of a cause for this, let me know.

You must have adjusted your routine for studying.

After visiting Bombay it somehow seems that this time I met no-one of importance there.

How is the climate there ?

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

I may tour in connection with Deenabandhu Memorial Fund in October.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

84. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I received your letter sent through Pyarelal.

Only when your routine of study is settled shall I feel sure that you are studying well.

I am discussing Mother. How can she be a burden to me ?

As for Annapurna, I suggest that you should keep her on a light diet. If T.B. is not suspected then her fever may come down by a diet of milk, fruit and leafy vegetables. But this is the suggestion of a quack. Do whatever you feel is right. I do not worry in the least about the patient who is left in your charge.

The enclosed letter is about Punjab.

Mahadev is coming tomorrow. He will leave here on the 29th and reach there on his way to Alwar.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

85. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[September 27, 1941][1]

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. How can you get into panic like that ? Annapurna's parents scared her. In this way, if they just arrive there, they will be sorry. When you spare no effort from your side, what more can one expect ? You should write to her father. He is a very good man.

Keep Anasuya with you only if you can bear the burden.

Durgabehn and Bablo have arrived. Durgabehn's pain in the thigh has become chronic.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

My weight went down by 1 lb. this time. Less intake of butter may be the reason. I am taking butter with some hesitation. Pressure of work could also be a reason.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

86. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I am not going to worry at all about Annapurna.

Ultimately, it is I who will have to think about Mother. Pyarelal is vacillating. If there is a difference of view, he is more in favour of having her here.

If Mother does come, I would like to shift to the old hut and the portion of the hospital which I am using. I would return to the hospital where Mother can stay. Sankaran will no doubt serve her well. Mother can separately cook for herself whatever she wants. Pyarelal thinks that Mother can help in the hospital. What do you think about all this ? Consult Mother also.

The *ghee* turned out to be expensive. How can I bear the thought that it was made at home from 64 lbs. of milk ?

---

[1] From the reference to the arrival of Mahadev Desai in the preceding item and of Durga Desai and Bablo in this; *vide* also Vol. LXXIV, p. 340.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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87. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
September 28, 1941

CHI. LILI,

I have your postcard. I have more information from M. Now you must concentrate on your studies. I do not forbid you to come here. But you are not going to study while here. And it is necessary to study. I would prefer that you made up your mind to come only after passing your examination. I can arrange for your independent stay during the holidays. Prabhavati has arrived. Rajkumari has not come yet. We are all well.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI LILAVATI UDESHI
KANJI KHETSI CHHATRALAYA
65 MINT ROAD
BOMBAY FORT

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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88. LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 28, 1941

CHI. PANNALAL,

You will have received my letter. If you are not already on your way here, both you and Gangabehn should be right away. You must lighten your heart.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Manavtana Prahari – Pannalal Jhaveri, p. 33

89. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. If I have to tour, I would prefer to have you with me. In all likelihood the touring will be put off. Let us see what happens. Even if I have to go, I shall of course be careful.

Annapurna appears to have turned the corner. A great hurdle will have been overcome if her fever goes. Chakrayya has been invited by Lakshmipati. He will keep him at his own mansion. I am sending him there tomorrow.

I understand about Prabhakar. I am myself looking after him. Your advice will help.

Enclosed is a cutting for Annapurna.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

90. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

September 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I have also read the letter to Pyarelal. This letter will be going with the late fee. Today there was a Goseva meeting in Nalwadi which took three hours. I returned from there at 5.30 p.m. After that I had my meal. I am writing this after prayer.

Pyarelal will be offering satyagraha tomorrow. Today he has worked like mad. I did not think it was proper to postpone it after his arrival here. His work will always be there. So, I decided on tomorrow. Now I shall prepare the statement[1] for him.

Blessings form
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* p. 53.

91. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

October 1, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Pyarelal courted arrest today. It was a beautiful sight. All of us went up to the outskirts of Sevagram. Even after that we continued to walk in procession. The village people washed his feet at every step, did *arati* and thus the procession went on to Barbadi.

Most probably an account of the proceedings will go along with this.

He worked the whole night. Then he slept by my side for a little while and then went with a smiling face.

I am sending herewith his letter and other enclosures.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

You must have received my letter of yesterday sent with late fee.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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92. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

October 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Today the Ashram is teeming with people. They just keep coming. The spinning-wheels are plying. I too gave an hour to it.

I have understood about Mother. Now it is for you and me to decide. Even if this building is handed over for the hospital, Mother can still stay in your room. What does she herself desire ? Is she willing to come ? Is she enthusiastic ? Discuss it with her and write to me. In whatever is done, we have to think of what will be convenient to you and Mother. What inconvenience can it cause me ? If I think of all these people at the Ashram as an inconvenience, then Mother too would be an inconvenience. Ultimately, she has to come here. Hence, in taking a decision do not assume that she may be a burden to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

93. STATEMENT IN COURT[1]

WARDHA,
October 3, 1941

It is no pleasure for me to appear before this court for the third time except the natural pleasure one derives from the performance of one's duty. But for the peremptory call of duty I should not have reappeared before this court.

Deep meditation for which jail life provides an ample opportunity has convinced me more than ever of the correctness of the Congress resolution to offer civil disobedience in vindication of the right of free speech to the extent of inviting those who listen to oppose the war in every shape or form.

The rivers of blood that are daily flowing in this war which is without parallel in barbarity and ferocity should convince even the confirmed sceptic of the utter immorality of the war. Except for hypnotism which hardens even the sense of perception, there should not be any difficulty in perceiving the crime against humanity which the present war means.

It is difficult to strike the balance between the right and the wrong. The right can only belong to the party that washes its hands clean of blood-guiltiness and dares the aggressor by accepting the law of self-suffering through non-violent action to do his worst.

Though seemingly the Congress fight is in defence of the right to preach against association with all wars or at least this war, it is none the less an effort to convince the world of the immeasurable superiority of non-violent action over the violent resistance even in a cause considered just.

Let no one attribute ineffectiveness to the studied mildness of the Congress action. Actions appearing insignificant have led before now to astounding results. Those of us who are privileged to take part in the struggle have a living faith that our civil disobedience will lead to a result fraught with the greatest benefit to mankind.

The Hindustan Times, 4-10-1941

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[1] Drafted by Gandhiji for Pyarelal who filed this after the charge was framed against him for offering individual satyagraha. He was awarded 12 months' simple imprisonment; *vide* also p. 51.

94. LETTER TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,C.P.,
October 3, 1941

DEAR KAMALADEVI,

I got your letter only yesterday. It was received earlier but I don't succeed in reaching the post the day it is received. I am glad you have returned home after a long absence. You can come on Sunday or Tuesday next. You will be more comfortable at the Bungalow but you could come directly to the Ashram if you will prefer. We shall talk at 4.00 p.m. on either date.

I hope you are quite well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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95. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
October 3, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. You have written in a very small hand. Did you have to write by air mail ?

Sardar is definitely coming. Then I shall discuss your questions. There is no reason to be scared. You and I want to do away with bitterness through sweetness. We want to combat ill-will with love, anger with poise.

The Shanti Sangh affair should be organized. I shall think about it. Come whenever you wish.

Mahadev will not be reaching here before the 7th. He may be delayed further.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11219. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

96. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 3, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Pyarelal has written from prison. I am sending you the letter.

I understand about Annapurna. There is no need now to write to Rajkumari because she has now almost recovered. And she has written that her brother would not let her go anywhere. He insists that she should regain her health only at Simla.

I am enclosing a copy of Pyarelal's statement. The rest later. The trial was in the morning. The judgment will be given at 3 o'clock. If I have any news, I shall include it in this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

There is nothing certain about Lakshmipati. Let us see when he builds the house. If he does build one he plans to do it near the hill.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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97. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 4, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Herewith another letter from Pyarelal. Send back the letter I forwarded to you yesterday, or a copy of it or the portion with which I have to deal. I thought I would remember everything. But now I see that I have forgotten something.

Everything went off well this time. Jamnalalji also sat with him for an hour in the court and talked. Ba also sat there and talked. He will most probably be taken to Nagpur today. The patients Nirmal Singh and Ram Saran Das have recovered and left for Punjab yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

98. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 6, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is nothing from you today. There is nothing in particular to write from here. I am doing very well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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99. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter and the cheque through Prithvi Singh. Why is the cheque on the Travancore bank ? Does it give [a higher] interest or provide more facilities ? Where can that cheque be cashed ? It must be charging a handsome commission. I shall of course make inquiries.

Can you accommodate both the sisters ? How is it your studies get constantly interrupted ? I shall not let you sit for the examination if you are not fully prepared. There should be no question which you cannot answer. If you cannot be so well prepared in April, then you may sit for the examination later. I am and am not in a hurry. The knowledge you have gained is not going to be wasted, and so, if it takes some more time, so be it. Because, I also do not wish that you should spoil your eyes and health by continuously reading night and day in order to pass. Passing in this way is no better than failing. You have to appear for the examination not for name but for service.

How much khadi did you sell and where did you sell it ?

The Ashram is now becoming very crowded. Vijaya and Vasumati have come. Pannalal has come. Some others will be arriving. More people are eager to come. How can I accommodate them ? Just think of the size of the kitchen and of the verandah, which is the dining place. Construction work is of course going on. There is no saying when it will end. Nor can I fix a time for it. Let God do as He wills.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

100. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI[1]

October 7, 1941

CHI. MATHURADAS,

In my opinion you have been saved from the jaws of death. I had been haunted by the fear. So now you have definitely been saved, have you not ? Do not worry at all. Let Bombay be sunk in the back bay. When Mithila was burning, King Janaka was not perturbed in the least. why should we lag behind Janaka ? Why should we not outdo him ? How that can be done, God alone knows. But he has shown us that we should be like him.

Taramati must be happy. There is a telegram from Harkisan. But I am not writing to him separately. He has done creditable work as your nephew. Because you gave me detailed information at once, I also made some stir.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

101. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. Pyarelal's statement has appeared in the newspapers in these parts. What about there ? Right now the meeting of the Charkha Sangh is in progress.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] An extract from the letter appears in Vol. LXXIV, pp. 368-9.

102. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 9, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. You are consumed by anxiety about your studies. Content yourself with as much as you can do. Your aim is not to pass an examination but to increase your knowledge. Of course you have to appear for the examination but that should be when you feel fully confident. Do not worry about the delay. Let it take as long as it may.

Pyarelal had spoken to me about the idea of your staying in Lahore. I had told him that I would keep myself ready to make the arrangements later. I forgot to write to you about the matter. I can make arrangements quickly if you will allow me to do so.

Kanu having left, A.S. is doing the massage. Dhiren has his class at 8, so A. S. has to do it. You should take it that all talk about my taking service from you has now ceased. Of course, I want you torise above all such talk. Why should it affect us whether somebody praises us or blames us ?

My teaching was only with regard to the duty of a satyagrahi. A satyagrahi will not court imprisonment to forget his pain or to escape from it. He will do so in the faith that to offer satyagraha is his duty.

As for A.S., I would only say that one should forget about her. One should accept whatever services she offers, but not expect anything from her.

It seems Pyarelal's statement has been well received. It is brief but to the point.

Do not worry about my weight. Increasing it only gradually may be the best thing. I have again increased the quota of butter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Rajkumari has again fallen ill. She is coughing more. She writes in her letter today that it is reduced. Thus, it is sometimes better, at other times, worse.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

103. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Congratulations about Annapurna. There is a letter from Sankaran. He continues to take enema. He will therefore send everything except the syringe. Shall I send another syringe ?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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104. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

October 10, 1941

CHI. TARAMATI,

I have received your letter. Mathuradas is a pious man. God will do good in every way. Patients with much worse sickness have recovered. Mathuradas has taken a lot of physical strain. Hence, he may take longer to recover. But there will be nothing to worry about once his health takes a turn for the better. I shall be happy even if he has to spend the winter at Wardha. But all that depends on the will of God. Let us be content to live in God's keeping.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

105. LETTER TO DILIP MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

October 10, 1941

CHI. DILIP,

I like what you have written. I also like your handwriting. It can be further improved. It is good that you are keeping up courage. Yes, I keep getting Hakubhai's letters. They are very helpful.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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106. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 12, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Yesterday I could not write at all. Today only this much. I am doing well. Kanu has gone to do photography. He will take two weeks. Dr. Das is leaving tomorrow – for a month at the most. Lilavati came yesterday. She brought fever along. She is better today. Mirabehn has a drumming sound in her ears. What could that be ?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

107. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1941

CHI. NIMU,

Why has Usha fallen ill ? If you avoid giving milk or soup while the fever is rising, it comes down quicker. Here, this is how the treatment of all fever starts. It applies to everybody, young and old. Fever causes no fear. Giving enema does become necessary. The patient must be given as much water as possible. Hot water would be better. Salt and soda can be added to it. Lime juice can also be added. If Kanu really wants to come, send him. Or, bring him at Diwali time if he can make it. I think Ramdas too will be having holidays !

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Sansmarano, pp. 202-3

108. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA, C.P.,
October 13, 1941

CHI. SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. You must recover soon. I shall meet Bhai Rangaswami if he comes.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SHANKERLAL BANKER
19TH CROSS ROAD
MALLESWARAM
BANGALORE

From the Gujarati original : S. N. 32742

109. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 13, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I am taking this opportunity as otherwise I may not be able to write this letter. What I wrote implied only one meaning. I have not implied what I have not said. And what does it matter if any such thing is talked about ? The second sentence is by way of an expression of good wishes. We can assign to it what value we want. Is it not like quoting a *sloka* from the *Gita* ?

Today I have sent Prithvi Chand and Puri to meet Pyarelal. Dr. Das and Nimai have left for Calcutta today. They will break their journey to see Bareto at Nagpur. They will return after a month.

I had not thought about having any changes with regard to massage.

The weather has again become very hot here. Nights are cool. I have put on some weight again. The increase is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 lbs. Everything depends on the use of butter and *ghee*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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110. LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI

October 14, 1941

CHI. PANNALAL,

I hope you are allowing time to take its course.

Come quickly with Gangabehn and any children you wish to bring.

Letters for the children are enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Manavtana Prahari – Pannalal Jhaveri, p. 34

111. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Yesterday I wrote the letter to you in the midst of a big crowd. Today I am observing silence for an hour before mailing time and taking the opportunity to write this letter.

Yesterday with great difficulty Prithvi Chand, Girdhari and Mahmud met Pyarelal. They had given no intimation beforehand. Pyarelal was very happy. Prithvi Chand will give you a full account when he comes. He has said that Sushila must not come to Sevagram before her examination. Mother should not come to visit him if she is not going to stay at Sevagram. He wants to meet Mahadev. The rest through Prithvi Chand. I have come to the conclusion that Pyarelal wishes that Mother should come here to stay. I have not yet met Prithvi Chand. Girdhari mentioned the matter to me. Prithvi Chand has gone to Wardha.

Prabhakar is very seriously ill. He is coughing very much. His morning temperature is 99° and it goes up to 103° every day. Today a homoeopath has come here and I have allowed him to take his medicine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

112. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 15, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Today nothing more than a postcard. There is no letter from you. Asaf Ali will now be coming. Prabhakar is all right. The homoeopath can do massage also. I have been having my stomach and back massaged by him for the last two days. There is definite improvement. More about it later.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

113. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 17, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. Anasuya has become a problem for you. Gomatibehn has of course written to her. Let her go if she wishes. You have done your duty. What more could you have done ?

Swami Vakil's is a remarkable case. Now let us see what happens. This case illustrates how even a slight insistence on truth can be rewarding. Prithvi Chand will tell you the rest. Prabhakar may be said to have recovered. I have understood about Mirabehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Today Prakasam and four other men came. People will continue to come like that.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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114. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 19, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There have been no letters from you for two days. Today I am saving time. Yesterday I just could not write. We really miss you when there is some illness here. Two persons are ill. The homoeopath could not cope with them. Both are running high fever. It is of course malaria. Ramdas, Nimu and the children are coming today.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

115. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your cover was so heavy that it got torn and was sent in a Government cover.

I have broken your rule quite a bit. Hence, I also observe silence in the evening while keeping the eyes closed. I stop at exactly 8.30 at night. My health is of course good. If I do more work, the blood-pressure rises. My weight went down by one 1b. yesterday. I think it was due to the rush of work. My diet has been all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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116. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 21, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Today it is partly Diwali and partly the New Year. Tomorrow it will fully be the New Year day. Right now there are too many people. Sardar is here from today. I want to treat him myself with earth and water. The place is very crowded with people.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

117. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 22, 1941

Today I am sending you only blessings. There is no time at all.

BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

118. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Right now you should be thankful that I am writing even this much. The whole time is taken up in talks. It is a very good idea that you have decided to go to Puri's place. I have acquainted myself with everything. The idea about December is also good. I am feeling better.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

119. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

How can I write a letter to you today ? The day passes only in talking. Today Govind Ballabh Pantji has come.

Has the weather turned cold there ?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

120. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. Do not be so irregular. If you cannot write every day, tell me on which days you will write. The whole world is governed by rules. My blood-pressure remains a little high these days.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Today the weight was 102 lbs. That means it has gone up by 1 lb.

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

121. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 27, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. I think the hospital and your studies do not leave you any time. I want to draft my statement[1] today.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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122. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

My blood-pressure continues to remain high. Hence, I took three drops of *sarpagandha* yesterday morning and evening. This morning it came down to 166/98. There is no cause for worry. In the morning I talked while walking and when I took the blood-pressure it was 196/112. When it was taken in the afternoon, it was 150/90. My food intake is good.

Sardar is quite well. Vasumati's breasts are very tender. The slightest pressure causes her pain. Let me know if you understand why this is so.

There is no letter from you even today. I take it that this is because you are very busy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", Vol. LXXV, pp. 55-62.

123. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter after many days. How can you afford being continuously ill ? Surely you remember the saying : "Physician heal thyself" ?

Anasuya can be said to have greatly improved.

You have not suggested anything about Sardar. You seem to have forgotten. It seems he is improving just by himself. I have been giving him soup of leafy vegetables for the last two days.

Ba has again started coughing. She suffers much at night. I am thinking of stopping *rotis* for her.

I have understood about Balkrishna. You must have your meals at the hospital as a rule.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Either Prithvi Chand or you will have delivered Pyarelal's letter to Dr. Zakir.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

124. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

October 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is nothing from you today. Vasumatibehn is having a little fever today. Chakrayya is down with fever at Madras. Lakshmipati's letter is odd. He says that he is improving.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

125. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 31, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have received your letter. It really makes me sad and it will continue to do so if for whatever reason, you are not able to study well.

I do not also understand about anaesthesia. One gains experience from whatever work one may be assigned.

Mahadevbhai did not get the permission to see Pyarelal because nobody in jail has been allowed to have visitors. Now there will be a struggle on the issue.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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126. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[November 1, 1941][1]

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. Sardar seems to be improving. Yesterday the Civil Surgeon and Dr. Manu examined him. They too felt his health had improved. They found nothing wrong about the treatment. Vasumatibehn is still running temperature. Ba has been feeling a little better after she was given your medicine. She continues having chest pain.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The postmark bears this date.

127. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 2, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I understand about Ba. Ba's case is difficult.

What you write about me is unnecessary. I am trying my very best to abide by everything you say. I am not allowing my sleep to be disturbed. I am also talking very little [during my walks]. I keep my eyes closed and observe silence in the evening as far as possible. With just three drops of *sarpagandha* the blood-pressure too has come down. I continue the efforts to further control it. I am sure if you were present here, you would have brought it under more effective control. So, pass your examination and come down. I like your self-confidence. But it must be backed by an equal measure of reading.

Suggest something for Sardar if you think it necessary. I give him a diet of soup of leafy vegetables and honey. He feels full of spirit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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128. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 3, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is nothing from you today. I forgot to write yesterday that my weight had increased by 1 1b. It was 103 1bs. The blood-pressure is fully under control. Ba does not heed the advice that she should take rest. She is a difficult person. Balkrishna arrived yesterday. His room looks quite good with the extension of the verandah. Travelling has not harmed him in any way.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

129. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 4, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. There is no reason to worry about me. At the moment the blood-pressure is ideal. Last night it was 136/88 and today it is 146/96. In the morning it was 172/98. I am also able to eat well. Ba is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

130. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA C. MEHTA

[*November 4, 1941*][1]

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

You have made great progress, mentally and physically.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The letter is written at the back of a postcard dated November 4, 1941, addressed to Sushila Nayyar.

131. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 6, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Vasumatibehn's fever persists, but is on the decline. She is cheerful. I am doing very well. I am very busy.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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132. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 7, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. In my estimate Sardar's health is on the mend. You may ask Kishorelal why he thinks it is causing anxiety. I cannot ask him now as we are in the middle of a meeting.

Ba, one may say, has recovered. That is why I have not written to you. She has been taking only medicines prescribed by you. She does not listen at all about taking rest. Once she got angry with me and said she was determined to keep on working. I laughed it away.

Mahadev has received a communication from the Government about Bhai. It says that no permission can be given except on very special grounds. Only relatives can get such permission. I am afraid Pyarelal is going to refuse to meet anyone at all. Vinoba has stopped receiving visitors. Now the correspondence will be prolonged.

For now it will be better for you to stay only at Puri's. If you see any particular advantage in staying at the doctor's, you may certainly go and stay there and say no to Puri. Think about it and write to me.

I feel quite fit. I get a backache from fatigue. It is in the region of the shoulders. Prabhavati suggests it might be something else. That is why I am writing to you. Can there be any other reason for it except fatigue ?

About Chakrayya, Lakshmipati writes that he has quite recovered. He has no fever. He walks two miles.

Annapurna's weight can be said to be very good.

Mahadev has gone to Gwalior. He will return on the 11th or earlier. He may visit you there for a day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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133. LETTER TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM,
Via WARDHA (C. P.),
November 8, 1941

DEAR KAMALADEVI,

I have your letter. You will come when you wish[1]. . . . The visit to J. L. can be fixed up after your arrival.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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134. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 8, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

The pain in the shoulder does not seem to be wholly due to fatigue. Massage does give some relief. But it may well be rheumatism. I am observing.

The blood-pressure is quite satisfactory. It is 150/88. I am able to eat a lot. Still, it may be necessary to remain on a diet of fruit for a couple of days.

Sometimes I do feel it would be good if you were by my side. But I quickly drive the thought from my mind. I consider it is a thought best avoided till after your examination.

Navin came for two days. Lakshmibehn[2] and Madhuri[3] have come. Madhuri sang us a *bhajan*. I have instructed Prabha to write it down and send it to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Mutilated in the source

[2] Wife of Narayan Moreshwar Khare

[3] Daughter of Lakshmibehn Khare

135. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
November 9, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. I had of course been getting news of you. You have been repeatedly saying that you were coming. Now come whenever it is convenient. No harm has been done by keeping you away. I will not keep you away even a minute longer than is necessary. You are one of those who will fight against all obstacles.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11220. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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136. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 9, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I only wish that your studies should proceed well.

The Civil Surgeon and Dr. Manubhai examined Sardar today. Both of them were satisfied after examining him. They are of the view that the same regimen should be continued. They would be happy if his food intake could be increased as also his weight. Of course the items of food will be the same.

Ba is well .

My weight is constant at 103 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. I feel an improvement in the shoulder.

Pyarelal has sent for a large number of books.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

137. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 10, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You must be receiving my letters regularly. Sardar is well. The shoulder pain has not completely gone. Have you met Rajaji ? Or is it that you are not going anywhere these days ? If you are not, I do not wish that you should. For the present, solitude is best for you.

The expense on the *tanpura* was necessary. Change of activity is rest, is it not ? Besides, It is your favourite instrument. Who is your teacher ?

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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138. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 11, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Dr. Subbarayan's wife, Radhabai, has arrived today. Gosibehn[1] and Khurshedbehn are of course here. Sultana is here. The group from Gujarat is also here. That is the situation. You must be doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Gosibehn Captain, grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

139. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 12, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. There is no need at all to send Annapurna right now. Ba is getting sufficient help. She does not even need much help. Let her derive full benefit from that place.

My pain is much reduced. But if it does not subside, I shall take a purgative. I shall not summon you for the present.

The way you answered Mother was correct, yet it would have been better not to answer her. Mother will not take it amiss. But it was uncalled for. You should maintain silence in the face of the wrath of the elders.

I have been sleeping in the verandah since yesterday. Do not worry about me.

You must realize that people here too are family. Everybody is longing for you. You have written the right thing to Shankar.

Mother should definitely come in December. Mahadev cannot get permission, but Mother certainly can. It is another matter if Pyarelal declines to meet her. The *bhajan* is being sent today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

140. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 13, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you today. I am all right. But again I took three drops of *sarpagandha* last night. The backache has subsided. I am having to do a lot of work. Prabha will lodge the complaint.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

141. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 14, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I am thinking about Sardar. Nothing more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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142. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 15, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. Since Mahadevbhai has obtained permission to see Pyarelal, Mother can gladly meet Pyarelal. Since I have vacated the hospital room, Mother's accommodation will be no problem at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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143. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 17, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I just could not write to you yesterday. Sardar is all right. His food intake is about 1, 200 calories. Sankaran has taken a blood-count, but he is not convinced. He spent three hours here yesterday. I am well. The backache is not yet completely gone.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

144. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 18, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is a letter from you today. I shall abide by your wish with regard to that girl. I am not in a position to know better. I cannot write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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145. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 20, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is so much pressure of work at present that I find writing to you a severe test. Sardar can be said to be quite well. He still does not accept this. I felt relief in my constipation because I gave up milk and butter for two days. I felt good and the blood-pressure came down to 136/88 in the afternoon. I have taken milk today. I have also taken butter. I am all right. The blood-pressure is 156/96.

Ba is coughing a little at night. She is eating well. She is straining herself a lot.

The crowd here defies description.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

146. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[*November 21, 1941*][1]

CHI. SUSHILA,

Today only this much. I wrote to you only yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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147. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA (C.P.),
November 22, 1941

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

With reference to the Sales Act, please do as Shri Jajuji[2] may advise. I have not applied my mind to it in all its bearings.

Yours,
BAPU

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
LAJPATRAI BHAVAN
LAHORE

From the original : Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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[1] The letter is written at the back of Kasturba Gandhi's letter of November 21, 1941.

[2] Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association

148. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 22, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I could write yesterday with great difficulty. Today that is not exactly so. There are still five minutes for the prayer bell to go. Sardar has been started on 2oz. of *separata* today. Rajkumari has arrived today. Rajaji and Bhulabhai have gone.

Ranganayaki[1] has come for a few days. I am all right. I can say that the backache has gone. I cannot say whether there is still a trace left. It has started getting quite cold.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

149. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 23, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no letter from you even today. Mahadevbhai is there today. He might have met you. Everything is going on nicely. Only I am under great pressure of work.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Widow of S. Srinivasa Iyengar

150. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 24, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

The prayer bell has just gone. Sardar is fine. But Ba continues to have the cough. What can one do ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

151. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 25, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You have got to be satisfied with a postcard for now. I cannot have even the slightest respite from work. I think I am very well. My weight remains constant at 103 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. although I have stopped milk for two days. Sardar is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

152. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 26, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter after many days. It will hurt me if you do not write from sheer lethargy. The thought that your studies are getting disturbed is unbearable. You may well pass in the examination, but your studies being disturbed without cause can only result in harm. Whether it is Satya or any other friend who comes, your studies must not be interrupted.

I wish you would abandon the idea of living elsewhere and stick to Puri's. I would change my view if you found a more comfortable place than Puri's. But I prefer Puri's house. Once we take a decision we should not change it all of a sudden.

You cannot also change the decision to get away for three months. It does have its advantages. Why worry about the loss of pay ? Surely you are not going to stick to the salary. No, you must not change the three-month decision.

I had a dream only yesterday that you are sure to get your M. D.; that you are extremely talented and have been offered a salary of three or four hundred rupees for a couple of years merely so that you could increase your knowledge; I had to take a decision and I could not arrive at any and then I woke up to find that there was neither any offer nor did I have to take any decision.

Everyone is well here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[P.S.]

Mahadev has not been given any date for meeting.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

153. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 27, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

You will have received the letter I wrote you yesterday. Today the blood-pressure was 142/86. In the morning it was 152/96. It is not always as good as this. But you will see that it is all right. Sardar's quota of food has been increased. He takes 4 oz. of *separata.*

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

154. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 28, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Today also only a postcard. The blood-pressure was 134/84 this afternoon, and 158/96 in the morning. Ba, Mahadev and Ramdas are going to visit Pyarelal tomorrow. The permission was received only today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

155. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 29, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

Ba and Mahadev have gone to Nagpur. Mahadev may write to you from Nagpur. The blood-pressure had gone up last night. It came down to 154/96 in the morning. In the afternoon also it was 154/92. The climate is good. Sardar is well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR
L. H. M. C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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156. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

November 30, 1941

CHI. SUSHILA,

There is no question of writing today. Ba has written. Mahadevbhai has also written. You will know everything from that.

My blood-pressure was 202/110 last night. This morning it was 152/92. This only means that I should stop working after the prayers. I am thinking along those lines. Prabhavati is leaving tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

157. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[*November 1941*][1]

CHI. SUSHILA,

In the matter of Dev, you should try to convince him. What is this obsession about examination ? Why such a craving for a job? Are all those who earn highly educated ? What about millions who are unable to have education ? Even then, he may study if he wishes; but why this craze for it ? Can you not tell him all that ? You may use this letter if you think it necessary.

Mahadev will go to meet Pyarelal after the pressure of visitors here is reduced. His presence is necessary during the current discussions.

When will you be able to attend to your studies properly ? Right now, Raihana is here. I think of you. She can teach music very well. She can teach other things also. But all such things only after your examination is over. When will you be going to Lahore ? Sardar, who was having a harrowing time with six or seven doctors, is now almost free from trouble since he came. The spasms have not ceased completely, but he is not suffering in any way. He used to pass five motions a day; now it is only once, and that too, with the help of enema. He used to spend an hour on the toilet seat, but now he spends fifteen minutes at the most. Only my treatment is being given – mud-packs, hip-bath and lying in warm water. He is allowed to take as much honey and lime as he can. He is feeling quite energetic.

Read Balkrishna's letter. What is the purpose behind your sending me saffron ?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] From the reference to Sardar Patel's treatment and improvement in his condition it appears that the letter was written in November 1941. Sardar Patel was under Gandhiji's treatment between October 20 and November 30, 1941; *vide* Vol LXXV, pp. 31 *et seq.*

158. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

December 6, 1941

CHI. TARAMATI,

I have your letter as also Harkishan's. You must send me news every day. Bhaskar Patel has a sanatorium there, hasn't he ? Has he examined him (Mathuradas) ? You should give up all worry and nurse him cheerfully.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. TARAMATI MATHURADAS
WINDI HALL
DEOLALI
G. I. P. RAILWAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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159. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA,
December 8, 1941

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. I cannot bear to see you fall ill. One who wants to serve must acquire control over the body.

There is nothing wrong in your involving yourself with women's organizations. You have to come in close contact with women.

We ourselves create obstacles for ourselves. Had you got rid of your fear, you would have come to stay at Sevagram earlier. People may not like to be here permanently. But I notice that many people have liked it at least for a few days.

Miss Moore's situation is as you have described. Having lived in the same social milieu, her ideas are unsympathetic. She appeared to me to be a good woman. She lived here very nicely. Now you may not have to go.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11221. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

160. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

BARDOLI,
December 15, 1941

Where are you going to put up here ? If you wish to come here, you will not be a burden. Do not unnecessarily tax your body.

What is the news about Mummy ? What is Bharati[1] doing ?

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11222. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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161. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

BARDOLI,
December 21, 1941

CHI. TARAMATI,

I have your letter. You have given good news. If the improvement continues as now, he will soon be rid of the trouble. Dr. Gilder said that there was certainly a chance for improvement. Everything depends on patience, courage and observance of rules on the part of Mathuradas. He must observe silence properly.

It is always crowded here.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI TARAMATIBEHN MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
WINDI HALL
DEOLALI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Addressee's sister

162. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

BARDOLI,
January 7, 1942

CHI. TARAMATI,

Dr. Bhaskar's letter to Sardar has arrived today. It reports great improvement in Mathuradas's health. Observing silence has been very beneficial. Let Mathuradas take good care and observe silence without being impatient at all to talk. Tell Dilip[1] to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. TARAMATIBEHN MATHURADAS
WINDI HALL
DEOLALI – G. I. RLY.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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163. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, *via* WARDHA,
February 5, 1942

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. I do not like it at all that you are accepting defeat. You will become fully qualified if you give one more year. Why should you become a coward after having spent two years ? Hence, you must complete the term and gain whatever knowledge you can even if you are not appearing for the examination. Knowledge thus gained will never go waste. You must become proficient in physics, which is an interesting subject. And chemistry is a very useful subject. If you acquire a good knowledge of it, it will be very useful in the Ashram. Hence my advice is : Never give up even unto death.

It rained here one day. It is biting cold. The Goseva meeting took my time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Addressee's son

164. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[After *February 6, 1942*][1]

CHI. SUSHILA,

Pyarelal is very much puzzled. Everything is going wrong with him. Take pity on him if not on me and come here for a couple of days. You may talk to me only if you feel like it. Otherwise, at least meet the others. Look into the hospital affairs. Give necessary instructions to Shankaran. Examine my health so that you may know. Otherwise at the moment we are oscillating between yes and no. Let it be so. If you come only for a day or two, you may not like to interfere in the routine fixed by me. If you decide to stay on here, you will consider my conditions and I shall consider yours. We shall try to find some solution or shall put up with our differences. You could attend to my work from a distance. For the moment I would only ask you to come here without any protest. You may then go back to Delhi whenever you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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165. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.,
February 8, 1942

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

The thorny crown that I wanted to put upon your head has come upon me. The Executive won't have you or anybody else but me. They want the same man for the sun and the planets.

But you must be in the A.I.V.I.A. as also in the A.I.S.A. if you are not in the latter.

Hope you are flourishing and following what I write in *Harijan*.

I wish you, Devi[2] and Premi[3] will make up your Hindi and Urdu. How high would Premi have gone if she had given one quarter of the years to Hindi and Urdu she has given to English. The knowledge then gained would have flown to the masses. Now it is dammed and damned too.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 11054. Courtesy : Arjun Jairamdas

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[1] The sheet of paper on which this letter is written carries on one side some writing bearing the date February 6, 1942.

[2] & [3] Addressee's wife and daughter respectively

166. LETTER TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.,
February 26, 1942

DEAR KAMALADEVI,

I reached your letter of 12th only today. You had no business to have the accident. I hope, however, you are out of the wood now. Of course, you will come when you like.

Yes, Jamnalalji's death[1] is a personal loss to many of us.

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From the original : Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

167. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM,
March 4, 1942

BHAI GOPICHAND,

I have gone through all your articles. They are good. I shall not suggest any emendations. Do you wish to get them published ? If so, you must give them a close scrutiny. Would they be in the three Punjabi scripts and not in Hindustani ?

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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[1] Jamnalal Bajaj had died of cerebral haemorrhage on February 11, 1942.

168. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

SEVAGRAM,
March 6, 1942

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

Your long letter is not long enough for the news you have packed into it. It is all illuminating. I shall keep you to the 1st July. Devibehn should religiously practise writing Hindi every day even if it is 10 minutes by the watch. She will find a vast improvement. You know the Persian characters because Sindhi is written in it with slight changes. Why do you not write in Urdu then ? In the Ashram here a splendid Urdu atmosphere has been created. Pyarelal has become the Maulvi. As you know he is original in many things he does and so he is in teaching Urdu. The way he imparts Urdu instruction has created special interest among the inmates and almost all, including little children, attend the class. Therefore, if you write in Urdu there will be no difficulty in deciphering your letters. I can but I take time. Pyarelal and Amtul Salaam are to the manner born. Nevertheless I do not want to put an undue strain upon your loyalty. Therefore do not exert yourself to write in Urdu unless you feel the impulse from within.

What you say about the Hurs and Pagaro is most instructive as also very painful.[1] How are we to make a nation out of this material ? The problem becomes tremendous from the non-violent standpoint.

What you are doing in the way of constructive work is good. I am sure your search will result in giving you a village after your liking.

Chandwani[2] is expected here any day between 9th and 15th instant.

Maulana[3] wires to say he is calling a W.C. Meeting on the 17th.

Wardha heat has already commenced. It will be a sorrowful meeting of the W. C. without Jamnalalji.

Your notes about the questions addressed to you and your answers, I return. I think your answers are all correct. I cannot improve upon them.

If you can stand the strain of a journey I would certainly like you to attend the meeting of the A.I.V.I.A.

I hope Premi will pass her exam with distinction.

Mahadev is all right.

Love.

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 11055. Courtesy : Arjun Jairamdas

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[1] For several months preceding, the Hurs, under the instigation of the Pir of Pagaro, had been on a rampage, killing, burning and plundering on wholesale scale. On April 1 Martial Law had to be proclaimed in the areas most affected; *vide* also Vol. LXXVI, pp. 122-7 and ff.

[2] P. B. Chandwani

[3] Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Indian National Congress

169. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
March 18, 1942

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. I have not received the scheme. There is no hurry at all. I understand about Mirabehn. I had a long letter from her. Look after your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11223. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

170. NOTE TO SAVITRI BAJAJ[1]

[March–April 1942][2]

It does not seem to me advisable to give such drugs to children. They recover naturally. But I do not want to interfere. The letter seems to show it is dysentery for which a little castor-oil is enough. Call the doctor, I shall talk to him and then we shall see what to give. There is no need for worry. She will be all right.

From a copy of the Hindi : G. N. 3061; also *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, pp. 297-8

171. LETTER TO PREMI JAIRAMDAS

SEVAGRAM,
April 6, 1942

CHI. PREMI,

I received your letter in Delhi. Even though there are a few mistakes in your Hindi, I find it sweeter than your English. You will certainly pass because you have worked hard. Do not worry. My blessings to Devibehn also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C. W. 11047. Courtesy : Arjun Jairamdas

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[1] Wife of Kamalnayan Bajaj

[2] As given in the printed source

172. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEGAON,
April 14, 1942

CHI. MRIDU,

I have received your letter. I am a little afraid that Jawaharlal and I are beginning to follow different paths. You will have noticed it. In such a situation, I shall not have you swing between two viewpoints. I advise you to follow Jawaharlal. My days are now numbered. My views appear in *Harijan*. Balance them against other views, but where your own mind does not work, follow Jawaharlal.

If you do not find your field in Gujarat and are upset, then go where Jawaharlal puts you. Wherever you go, it will all be well with you. Whenever you go, be patient. Do not neglect your health.

I have preserved your old letter. Some day I shall definitely reply to it.

I had a letter from Mirabehn. I do not wish to settle her anywhere else for the present.

It is a good sign that even the mill-owners of Gujarat have started taking interest in the Congress work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11224. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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173. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

April 19, 1942

MAULANA SAHEB,

I have your letter. I will write to you only in Urdu. This time you will forgive me. I had already told you in Delhi that now my health does not permit me to move around. Moreover I do not have any work there and I have convened three meetings here which I must attend. People from faraway places have been invited. You will understand my position and excuse me for my absence.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Urdu : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

174. TELEGRAM TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

10 a.m., April 22, 1942

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD
BALLYGUNJ, CALCUTTA

WROTE SUNDAY REGRETTING INABILITY ACCOUNT WEAKNESS AND HAVING PREVIOUSLY FIXED MEETINGS[1] SAME TIME.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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175. TELEGRAM TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

2 p.m., April 22, 1942

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD
BALLYGUNJ, CALCUTTA

TOO MUCH PHYSICAL FATIGUE. SENDING MY PROPOSALS[2] FOR CONSIDERATION. PLEASE EXCUSE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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176. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
April 25, 1942

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. I have no time today to write a long letter. Come away from there and tell me what you want. Whatever the course you adopt, you have no reason to worry. I have conveyed my views to Jawaharlal in the form of a proposal.[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11225. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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[1] Of the A.I.C.C.; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, p. 66.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 63-5.

[3] *Ibid.*

177. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

SEVAGRAM,
May 5, 1942

MAULANA SAHEB,

I sent yesterday a brief reply to your letter. After that I had a long talk with Rajendra Babu, Profulla Babu and Dev. They gave news about Allahabad. In my opinion it is better that Sardar, etc., are allowed to leave the Committee. As it is the working of the present Committee hinders our work. It is not proper to insist on staying together. It is good that we remain together as far as possible but once a major difference of opinion emerges it is better that we part company amicably. Sardar and others also share this view.

I had expressed this opinion to you even earlier. Experience has now confirmed it all the more. In my opinion you should accept the resignations of Sardar and five or six other members and form a new committee. When it is clear that there are two factions within the Committee why should we pretend that there is only one ?

There is a vast difference between the resolution passed and the resolution I had sent. What I intended to tell the world through my resolution is missing here. Sardar tells me that the public opinion is in favour of my resolution.

I do not think it necessary to convene a meeting of the Working Committee to clear the matter. In my opinion first we both should meet and it will be better still if Jawaharlal can join us. After that if you think proper you may convene a meeting of the Working Committee.

Hope you are well.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Urdu : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

178. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
May 6, 1942

CHI. MRIDU,

I read your letter and immediately destroyed it.

You have no reason at all to worry. I had sent Mirabehn merely to give you the letter and to gain some experience. She was free to discuss non-violence with anyone she chose. Had Sardar left on that very day, I would have sent the letter through him. More when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11226. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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179. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1942

I had a letter from Jawaharlal only yesterday. He writes that he will be reaching Allahabad on the 22nd and will then decide about coming to Wardha. The Maulana writes that he too will be coming around the same time. I do not know about his coming to Bombay. He also writes that his health is bad.

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11227. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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180. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

SEVAGRAM,
May 25, 1942

MAULANA SAHEB,

I had received your letter. Since there was nothing particular to write I did not reply. However, the Sind affair is worrying me. Dr. Choithram[1], Prof. Ghanshyam[2] and others have written to me. I have written to them that as long as they are in the Congress, they will have to do as you say. But for how long can they be held back ?

There are other issues too about which I am writing in *Harijan*. I hope you do read *Harijan*.

---

[1] Dr. Choithram Gidwani, President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee

[2] Prof. K. T. Ghanshyam

I hope you will come here after you have recovered. Jawahar is coming tomorrow.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

181. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[May-June 1942][1]

MY DEAR C. R.,

Love of you and J[inna]h woke me up at 2.00 a.m. Your brief, neat and well-argued speech [did not] appeal to me. That way lies destruction of all that is noble. But do thoroughly what you want to do. You must convince your colleagues.

You should know J[inna]h's mind. You must put me out of mind and sight. My way lies in a direction quite opposite of yours. What is the use of my presenting my side before the W. C. today ? You should let me go. You should give the whole of your time to convincing and converting the others.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : C. W. 10931. Courtesy : C. R. Narasimhan

182. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 9, 1942

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. It is good the resolutions were passed. There is no harm in there having been amendments.

Jawaharlal stayed at the Ashram for two days. He has gone to Wardha today because the Maulana is coming. He will now be here for at least a day. We are having discussions.

S. has written to me in detail about you. In this way we often get unexpected help. He is a gentleman. Obtain the book regarding Juthabhai.

I have been told about Kamala Devi being appointed President. My congratulations to her.

Take care of your health. Why did you have bleeding from the nose ? Does it happen occasionally ?

---

[1] From the contents it appears that the letter was written during this period; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 142-3, 166-7, 178-9, 181, 198 and 199.

Your suggestions about the bulletin, etc., are good. Right now the conditions are not congenial. Let me see what can be done. This time it is likely to be a bitter fight. We are ready for anything that may happen.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11228. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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183. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.,
June 13, 1942

MY DEAR SINGER,

I had love letters from all of you three. But this is to draw your attention to the enclosed. I want you to show the note to your son and my friend the Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. If the facts are as stated why should they happen where you and your son live ?

Love to the family.

SPINNER

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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184. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 21, 1942

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have not been writing to you because I believe that you are out of danger. Your postcard today has startled me. Whatever is to happen, let it happen. Even while striving to live, does not man keep himself ready for death ?

What is the advantage of going to Poona ? I for one feel that you should go to Bombay. You can certainly get medical treatment there. In Poona there was only Trivedi[1] who could have given you any help you needed. But he is no more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] J. P. Trivedi

185. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
June 24, 1942

CHI. LILA,

I had been anxiously awaiting your letter. Something somewhere will be arranged. Do not worry. You must be attending college regularly. If a separate room is the only remedy, try that. Do not lose courage.

Vasumati has arrived. The Ashram is full. Sushila has gone to Delhi today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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186. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM,
June 24, 1942

BHAI GOPICHAND,

You are carrying on your struggle well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. GOPICHAND
LAJPAT BHAWAN
LAHORE
PUNJAB

From the Hindi original : Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

187. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 1, 1942

CHI. SUSHILA,

Do not stop writing to me altogether. Pyarelal and Mahadev have gone to Bombay today. M. has gone there for the recommended check-up and Pyarelal for his eyes. Mahadev will return within two days. Pyarelal will be staying on for eight days if necessary. My health one may say is good. The times are hard. Mostly I observe silence. Janakibehn has come today.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. SUSHILA NAYYAR, M.D.
L.H.M.C.
NEW DELHI

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

188. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 3, 1942

CHI. SUSHILA,

This is for you to see. I have written to Shirin that I shall decide after consulting Mahmud and Zohra. I have called Dr. Yusuf. If you have any suggestions, you will let me know.

The weather is quite cool at the moment and so I am feeling quite fit. Ba had fever yesterday. Today it has almost come down. She is fine. Her temperature is 99°. Pyarelal is in Bombay.

Amar is spinning, reading and having a good time.

You will be doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

189. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 9, 1942

CHI. SUSHILA,

You will have seen the doctors' bulletin in the Press. There is no cause for worry at all. Sardar unnecessarily called them. I feel nothing but exhaustion. He only suggests rest. I have given up *roti*. I am taking more of *mosambis*. I am of course taking vegetables.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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190. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

July 12, 1942

CHI. SUSHILA,

How much did you get by way of fees ? I have no idea at all if I shall still be here when you come or where I shall be. But you must complete your term there.

Pyarelal has been having fever for the last three days. It has come down a little today. The Bombay doctors attribute it to vitamin deficiency. That is also the cause of his weak eyes. Let me see what I can do.

It has been raining quite well here. The air is cool.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

191. LETTER TO SAILENDRANATH CHATTERJEE

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.,
[July 17, 1942][1]

MY DEAR SAILEN,

I have your letter. The girls came at Father's wish. They are in Rajkot with Father's consent and at their wish. If they wish to return or if they must be taken away, this can also be done. I may not be expected to spend public money on these changes. As for Abha's marriage I am wholly indifferent. She is too young to decide for herself. The parents must be her guides. I will not have her married until they consent or Abha comes of age and makes her own choice.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a photostat : C. W. 10571. Courtesy : Amrita Lal Chatterjee

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192. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SEVAGRAM,
July 31, 1942

BHAI GOPICHAND,

I have only now been able to reach your letter of July 24. The case is sad. Your reply is very good. But who will listen ? There is nothing for me to do in the matter, is there ? And what after all can one do ? Please reassure Dukhiya's relatives on my behalf.

Blessings from
BAPU

DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA
C/O THE POSTMASTER, BATOTE
(JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE)

From the Hindi original : Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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[1] The source has 1947, but from the reference to Abha's stay in Rajkot, the correct year would appear to be 1942; *vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 176 and 363.

193. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

CONGRESS HOUSE,
VITTHALBHAI PATEL ROAD, BOMBAY,
August 7, 1942

MY DEAR LOTUS-BORN,

I have your dear letter. I miss you at this meeting which you would have liked. But your contribution to the struggle is to restore your broken body to full health and then report yourself to me for the next order. Therefore, concentrate on the full restoration of your health. First thing first. Cheer up.

Love.

PLAYMATE

SHRI PADMAJA NAIDU
ZAHEER MANZIL
RED HILLS
HYDERABAD
DECCAN

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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194. A NOTE

[After *August 15, 1942*][1]

We should make an announcement that the programme is meant for the inmates of the Ashram and those connected with the Ashram. There should be fasting, recitation of the *Gita* and hymns from the Vedas and prayer. Then those who knew Mahadev should speak on the life of the departed for five minutes each. This will stretch the prayer time a little. This is not a public meeting and so is not open to the general public. This programme is not intended for a public gathering. Do what you think right and inform people accordingly.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 11324

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[1] From the contents; Mahadev Desai died on August 15, 1942.

195. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM

DETENTION CAMP,
December 22, 1943

SIR,

This letter is to approach the Government about Shri Mirabehn who, forsaking the easy life of her English home came to me 19 years ago in search of things of the spirit for which her heart had been yearning. I feel, therefore, a special responsibility for her welfare.

Now, she has been suffering for the last seven months from pains in the region of the left shoulder blade, which often extend from the neck to the tips of her fingers. She wrote to the Inspector-General of Prisons describing her condition, and I understand her letter is before the Government.

Lt. Col. Shah consulted the Civil Surgeon of Poona and the treatment he advised was carried out but without substantial benefit. The Civil Surgeon then very kindly consulted Captain Simcox, R. A. M. C. of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, who had made a special study of this condition. He immediately diagnosed her case as adhesions for which he said four or five manipulations together with daily exercises would be necessary. He gave her the first manipulation then and there. Unfortunately he had to leave the same day for Karachi and is not likely to return to Poona. Shri Mirabehn has done her best with the exercises and the arm has considerably improved, but pains persist, and whenever she is a little run down, has a slight temperature or a sore throat, the pains return in full force and disable her for any work for some days. She has become anxious lest the trouble may become chronic, and permanently incapacitate her for an active life.

I would suggest that she be either transferred to wherever Captain Simcox may be at present for completion of the manipulations started by him, or that she be released on parole for getting available treatment. I am sure the Government would not wish her to be permanently damaged.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : India Office Library and Records. Courtesy : The British Library, London

196. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD TOTTENHAM

DETENTION CAMP,
January 13, 1944

SIR,

I beg to thank the Government for their reply to my letter of 22nd ultimo regarding Shri Mirabai and for the arrangements made to send Capt. Simcox from time to time for the completion of the treatment begun by him.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
(HOME DEPARTMENT)
NEW DELHI

From a photostat : India Office Library and Records. Courtesy : The British Library, London

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197. NOTE TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

April 10, 1944

You must forget about Paramanand's daughter. You can have Ghia's daughter if she is free. I cannot find a girl right away. Moreover, my programme is never certain.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

198. *FRAGMENT OF A LETTER*

[After *May 6, 1944*][1]

. . . . I had condemned it in my letter to Linlithgow without waiting for evidence. Did you not see it ? In my very first letter[2] written in August the day before Mahadev passed away, I had condemned all violence, including the violence that had taken place. It had been the Government's design to get me to admit responsibility for the violence which would justify their repression, and show them to be innocent before the world. I did not oblige. Nothing would make me do so. Being in jail how could I be expected to know about it ? So when I heard about Kishorelal, I immediately lodged a protest. You must try to understand this. Think over it. I have not been guilty of the slightest error. None but the Government says that I committed an error. That was a false charge. I had condemned all acts of violence. They wanted me to accept the Government's version and condemn popular violence and condemn it from the jail. I refused to do that. There is no difference between what I am saying now and what I said in 1942. On the basis of the evidence available today, I have condemned certain acts of violence. When that information was given to me without any evidence, I promptly and unequivocally protested. Did you not read my reply to the Government ? I have not gone back upon it. I believe that all type of killing and burning is bad. So, it taught a lesson at least to those who killed and burnt, did it not ? The fact is that my correspondence was released only after the fast. You should read those letters. I have certainly condemned the violence. But how can I admit without any direct evidence that people resorted to such and such acts ?

[From Gujarati]

Manavtana Prahari–, Pannalal Jhaveri, p. 35

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[1] The letter appears to have been written following Gandhiji's release from jail on May 6, 1944, when certain instances of mass action during the Quit India Movement were being judged in retrospect in terms of violence and non-violence. *vide* also Vol. LXXVII, pp. 265-8, 307 and ff.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, pp. 406-10.

199. LETTER TO POTHAN JOSEPH

PALM BUN, JUHU,
May 13, 1944

DEAR POTHAN JOSEPH,

As you probably know Gandhiji asked the Government to provide him with *Dawn* while he was in detention. And whenever it came – which was fairly regularly – he perused it carefully. Since our coming here, however, he has been missing it. For, naturally, the Government copy has ceased to come. He has, therefore, asked me to request you to send him a copy of the *Dawn* regularly. In case it is not the practice of your management to send it free to anybody, he says the subscription should be paid by you out of your capacious pocket. You know well enough that Gandhiji has no money to buy newspapers with.

Please send the back-numbers too as from the 1st of May, 1944. The address should be as above until further notice.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

POTHAN JOSEPH, ESQ.
NEW DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

200. LETTER TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

PALM BUN, JUHU,
May 14, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ,

I showed your letter to Gandhiji. He was sorry to learn about your son's serious illness[1] and he hopes that he will be completely restored to health in the bracing climate of Kashmere. I shall let you know as soon as he is declared free to undertake public work.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
19 ALBERT ROAD
ALLAHABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The addressee's third son, Anand, was suffering from paralysis of the whole body excepting the head and the neck after taking anti-rabies injections under medical advice.

201. NOTE TO ZAVERCHAND MEGHANI[1]

[On or after *May 14, 1944*][2]

I think we have not met after our meeting at Ranpur. I heard your songs today to my fill and was pleased. My stomach becomes empty soon. You need not fear, therefore, that it will become overfull.[3]

[From Gujarati]

Li. Hun Avun Chhun, p. 454

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202. CABLE TO "NEWS CHRONICLE"[4]

PALM BUN, JUHU,
May 18, 1944

News Chronicle
LONDON

HAVING LEARNT FROM AUTHORITIES NO ASSURANCE CAN BE GIVEN ABOUT NON-MUTILATION MESSAGES. REGRET INABILITY COMPLY WITH YOUR REQUEST.

PYARELAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Zaverchand Meghani (1896–1947); Gujarati poet and author known for his work on the folksongs of Gujarat

[2] According to the source, Gandhiji wrote this note on a silence-day at Juhu after his release from the Aga Khan Palace at Poona. Gandhiji was released on May 6, 1944; he reached Juhu on May 11 and commenced a fortnight's silence on May 14.

[3] The addressee, at Gandhiji's request, had sung some of his patriotic songs and had probably said that he hoped he had not tired him.

[4] The draft of this is in Gandhiji's hand.

203. LETTER TO ANNADA SHANKAR CHOWDHARI

May 18, 1944

Your letter is very good. You are right and so am I – each in his own way. Therefore, you should do only what appeals to your heart and head. I have learnt now not to blame anybody for his action so long as that action has come from the heart as has yours and many other co-workers'. You know my view. Weigh it and act according to your light. This ought to satisfy you. Don't expect orders from me especially while I am on a sick-bed.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : India Office Library and Records. Courtesy : The British Library, London

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204. LETTER TO KUMI T. MANIAR

May 19, 1944

This is my second letter from the bed. The first letter was to Durga[1]. I always think about you. I am able to write only today . I wish you would get well. But if you have got to go on suffering, I also wish you freedom from that living death. Life and death are not in the hands of doctors and physicians. God has kept those things only in His hands. So, either way, we should be calm. God will protect the boys. And then, God has given you a sister as strong as Bali[2].

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Durga Desai

[2] Balibehn Adalaja

205. LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI

JUHU, BOMBAY,
May 23, 1944

CHI. PANNALAL,

I was glad to have your letter. I am permitted to write only a few letters and in brief. I am making use of that facility. I am continuing my unbroken silence. It is good that you restrain yourself from coming now. I shall be happy if you come to Sevagram when I am there. I hope you are well, also Gangabehn.

I find that Gangabehn has written a separate letter. I shall not reply to her separately. This letter is for both.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Manavtana Prahari – Pannalal Jhaveri, p. 34

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206. LETTER TO LORD SAMUEL

PALM BUN, JUHU,
May 31, 1944

DEAR LORD SAMUEL,

My unfortunate illness has prompted the Government to set me at liberty pending, it seems, restoration to health. I take the opportunity of sending you a copy of the letter I wrote to you during detention. The Government would not send you the letter for the reasons you will glean from copies of the correspondence attached hereto.

I take this opportunity of thanking you for your kind message of sympathy on my wife's death.[1]

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

THE RT. HONOURABLE LORD HERBERT SAMUEL
HOUSE OF LORDS
LONDON

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Kasturba Gandhi had died on February 22, 1944.

207. LETTER TO BRIJMOHAN BIRLA

PALM BUN, JUHU,
June 1, 1944

DEAR BRIJMOHANJI,

I have your letter of 29th ult. Bapuji would like you to wait till you hear from him. He proposes to write to Shri Khabardar[1] himself and will then let you know.

Yours sincerely,

SETH BRIJMOHAN BIRLA
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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208. LETTER TO HARIHAR VYAS

PALM BUN, JUHU,
June 1, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I have read out your letter to Gandhiji. He says he is unable to advise on the use of a purely communal donation. He suggests that the scope may be made general. Whoever benefits by the donation, the benefit will go to India. If the advice is accepted, he will make suggestions.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI HARIHAR VYAS
JAWAHAR GUNJ
JUBBELPORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Ardeshir Framji Khabardar

209. NOTE TO RADHAKANT MALAVIYA

[After *June 1, 1944*][1]

Come to Sevagram as soon as you get the permission. Whatever has to be done will be done after hearing everyone. I am collecting all the information.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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210. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

POONA,
June 6, 1944

MY DEAR MADELEINE,

You will bear with me in addressing you thus. I wonder whether I did right in giving you another name. The moment I feel that I did right I shall resume the old style. Enough to know that the same love that gave you a new name has prompted the withdrawal.

I have your letter. I have read yours to Sushila. I see you are getting on.

Narandas writes to me that your account having been discontinued, he will take a little time in tracing the amounts received from time to time. There will be no avoidable delay. If you want money badly, I can have a fairly large sum transferred in your name at once.

I wrote a short note to the Viceroy and he has sent a firm 'no' for the same reasons that determined his actions whilst I was in detention. This is not for publication, only for you, Devdas and company.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The note is scribbled on the addressee's letter of June 1, 1944.

211. LETTER TO PREMI JAIRAMDAS

JUHU,
June 6, 1944

CHI. PREMI,

I was very happy to have your letter. Sushilabehn will write in greater detail. I am glad that you are keeping good health. I was of course worried. What do you propose to do now ?

I do often remember Jairamdas. Blessings to Devibehn. Let her write to me.

Do not come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C. W. 11058. Courtesy : Arjun Jairamdas

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212. DRAFT LETTER TO THE VICEROY[1]

JUHU,
June 10, 1944

The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry congratulate His Excellency the Viceroy on the step taken by him in releasing Mahatma Gandhi. Although it is stated that the action has been taken on medical grounds, the Committee feel that to ignore the political potentialities of Gandhiji's release would be a great mistake on the part of the Government.

The Committee firmly believe that the situation in 1942 was thoroughly mishandled by the Government of India leading to the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders and other responsible Congressmen throughout the country. The disturbances were the natural consequence which the Government should have foreseen. The Committee is convinced that had the Government waited and responded to the way of negotiation which was clearly contemplated as can be proved from Gandhiji's and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's and Panditji's speeches and statements made at the time and not exhibited a panicky mood showed by the arrests, the history of India would be much different today from what it is. While deploring the past mistakes, the Committee feel that these could be rectified by reviewing the position afresh and making a firm attempt to solve the political deadlock. The Committee is convinced that Mahatmaji is a man of peace and goodwill and that his method is not one of giving advantage to the enemy. The Committee, therefore, feel that a solution is not impossible if the Government were to reciprocate the friendliness of Gandhiji. The Com[mittee] feel that in order to enable the Mahatma to render effective help in the war effort, the first natural action should be the release of the members of the Working Committee and all others who have been interned. It is clear to the Committee [that] Gandhiji is powerless without the backing of the Working Committee.

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[1] The draft carries heavy revisions in Gandhiji''s hand.

We believe that even the economic development, for which His Excellency the Viceroy has expressed such great sympathy, is impossible unless there is at the centre a Government which can inspire confidence and enthusiasm among the people. Only a National Government could fulfil the above condition. The Com[mittee], therefore, strongly appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy that in the interest of winning the war, the future Indo-British relations and the improvement of the economic condition of India, it is imperative that the Government should take immediate steps to achieve conditions for the establishment of a truly National Government. The Committee also appeal to Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to make fresh efforts to solve the communal deadlock for the purpose of creating an atmosphere for establishment of a National Government.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

213. LETTER TO THORNE[1]

SUNDER BUN,
GANDHIGRAM, JUHU,
June 10, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I send you herewith in two volumes copies of correspondence between the Government of India and the Bombay Government and myself during my incarceration in the palace of H. H. the Aga Khan in Yeravda.

The second volume is a copy of my reply to the Government of India pamphlet entitled *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*. The first contains copies of correspondence arising out of the above-mentioned reply and on miscellaneous matters of public importance.

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[1] For a copy of this to H. P. Mody, *vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 308.

I had the copies cyclostyled with the help of kind friends. For fear of censorship difficulties, I did not try to have the copies printed at any printing Press. But lest the Government of India may think that there is anything in the correspondence objectionable from [a] military standpoint I am circulating for private use only the copies among friends who, I think should know the nature of the correspondence that took place between the two Governments and me. You are free to show your copy to any friends you like, subject to the precaution that applies to you.

You will confer on me a favour if you will take the trouble of letting me have your reaction upon the correspondence especially upon the points arising from my reply to the Government of India pamphlet. I have endeavoured to answer every item of importance in the Government indictment. I should like to know the points, if any, which require elucidation.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : India Office Library and Records. Courtesy : The British Library, London

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214. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SUNDER BUN, JUHU,
June 11, 1944

CHI. MIRA,[1]

This is after much debating for 48 hours within myself and sleepless nights over my duty towards you on our differences and towards doctors regarding treatment.

It hurt me yesterday when Ammajan told me that you had doubt about my willingness to part with the money that you gave me from time to time. The fact is that you having parted with the money even resented it standing in your name in the Ashram books and insisted on the money being made part of the Ashram funds and the expenses on your account being treated as from the Ashram funds. I felt a delicacy in mentioning that it could be retransferred to you without any deduction. I, therefore, allowed Ghanshyamdas to tell you that you could have the money back whether the condition of the Ashram funds permitted the return or not. So when you told me that you would be glad to have the money, the measure of esteem in which I held you went down. It is due to you that I should not withhold this fact from you. But this is not written to affect your decision. The return of the money is irrevocable.

---

[1] In Devanagari

The second thing I want to tell you is the things I have been hearing from reliable sources about Prithvi Singh. They are terribly disturbing.[1] He has been using questionable means to extort money. He made. without success, indecent approaches to two girls of Kathiawar.

The girl whom he has married was engaged to a person who was her benefactor. Nanabhai who was the person to bring him to me and who testified to his complete change from violence to non-violence has been sadly disillusioned.

His profession of non-violence when he came to me and in his letters from the jail appears to have been a deep-laid plot to deceive me and through me some day or other to secure his release from the life of hiding which was worrying him. Thus, my prejudice is deepening. I should love to know from experience that the prejudice has no basis.

It is generally believed that the Communist Party is exploiting you through him. I am carrying on correspondence with Joshi. This you can see from Pyarelal.

In the circumstances my advice to you is that you should hold your project for a season and judge the situation and watch developments. I do not know how Devdas and those who are connected with you will be able to guide you or interest themselves in your activities. Anyway I shall have to let the public know somehow or other that I am not at the back of any of your activities which are being undertaken in spite of my disapproval.

This letter is my last warning. I shall trouble you no more. God be your only guide.[2]

[P S.]

There is nothing withheld from the office staff. I am keeping a copy of this letter and enclose herewith a typed copy. Please give me a copy of the letter I wrote to you before this.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* also pp. 121-2.

[2] For the addressee's answer, *vide* Appendix I.

215. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SUNDER BUN, JUHU,
June 12, 1944

DEAR MISS SLADE,

There is nothing wrong about being formal. "Familiarity breeds contempt." The letters will not be destroyed. I have nothing to be ashamed of. I wrote after intense prayer. My language failed to transmit the love and the greatest goodwill that prompted it. The only regret is that I dared to be familiar. My love would have been as true as now if I had refused to call you by any other name than Miss Slade. I like the English coldness and correctness. But my regret is superficial. The change is good and substantial. I have given the warning. You have no reason to change your course because of any opinion I express. What I did was to suggest your waiting. But you need not since it does not commend itself to you.

Yes, time and action will show what we are and what we meant. I have patience.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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216. LETTER TO BHAYANKARANAND

JUHU,
June 13, 1944

DEAR BHAYANKARANAND,

Your letter. Much as I should like to see you I have no time left. You may come and talk to Pyarelalji. Of course, I have read and heard much about Bengal and other places. The question is how to deal with the situation. We must not lose patience, faith or nerve.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

217. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 14, 1944

DEAR MISS SLADE,

Of course you are to me what you have been always. I have been writing to you so that I may be rid of the fear that has possessed me.

Your decision to go to Panditji soothes me. I was and am against haste which often proves to be waste. When I am filled with fear and distrust of wisdom, you should suffer the adopted parent's warning. Of course I shall dance with joy when I discover that my fears were groundless and my suspicion unjustified.

From the foregoing it should be clear to you that I have never doubted your devotion.

The change of form in addressing you was necessary because I saw my mistake. My love for you remains wholly unaffected by it.

I have already left the rest to time.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

218. LETTER TO BISHOP OF CALCUTTA

GANDHIGRAM, JUHU,
June 15, 1944

REVEREND LORD BISHOP,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your very kind letter. He was deeply touched by it. He had expected to be able to reply to it himself. But he is still not permitted to resume his normal work.

Although he could not be reached through correspondence while he was undergoing incarceration he knew that the prayers of so many men of God were with him all the time and that knowledge sustained him.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA
BISHOP'S HOUSE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

219. LETTER TO R. K. PRABHU

POONA,
June 16, 1944

DEAR PRABHU,

I have read your letter to Pyarelal. I want to see you when I have finished the medical treatment and am free for work. I wanted to write to you even before your letter reached me. That was in connection with the book you have written.[1] I am now discussing with the Navajivan Trust the whole thing. I shall do nothing in haste and certainly not without meeting you. You are no stranger to me.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

220. INTERVIEW WITH G. V. MAVALANKAR

POONA,
June 16, 1944

On being requested as to how Mr. Mavalankar should act with reference to the work of the Fund[2] in Ahmedabad, Gandhiji said :

You can as well represent the capitalists as I do, effectively influencing their contributions. You will not be able at the same time to appeal to the masses. The whole conception seems to me to be that the few rich should ensure the declared amount. Only a popular body can collect from the masses.

As to the constitution of the Board he advised the inclusion of some more public workers like Vijayalaxmi Pandit.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* pp. 141-2, pp. 154, and also Vol. LXXVII, p. 321 *fn*.

[2] Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund; *vide* also Vol. LXXVII, p. 327.

221. LETTER TO SHIRLEY HUMPHREY

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
TODDYWALA ROAD,
POONA, INDIA,
June 20, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 4th April. I regret to have to say that his present state of health does not permit him to comply with your request. But you will find all the information you want in his *My Experiments with Truth* published by the Navajivan Press, P. O. Box No. 105, Ahmedabad.

Yours sincerely,.

SHIRLEY HUMPHREY, ESQ.
SOLWAY COLLEGE
MASTERTON
NEW ZEALAND

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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222. LETTER TO PRITHVI SINGH

POONA,
June 23, 1944

BHAI PRITHVI SINGH,

I should be betraying you if I did not convey to you something more I have heard about you.[1]

It appears that you had spread your net beforehand, got Nanabhai to side with you and through him influenced me. When the time came you cast me aside. That is to say, you cast aside non-violence.

You clung to Mirabehn and tried to win me back through her.

You cast lustful eyes on two girls but neither of them fell into your hands.

The woman whom you have married was to marry her benefactor. But she abandoned him and linked herself to you.

Apart from these, there are various small things I am overlooking. I am carrying on correspondence with Nanabhai. I should be extremely happy if you could satisfy me in the above matter. I have nothing to say if you think that there is no need to satisfy me. If you just acknowledge this letter, I shall know that you have received it.

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[1] *Vide* also pp. 116-7.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

223. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

POONA,
June 30, 1944

CHI. MRIDU,

Why are you waiting for my letter ? Why should I thus be burdened ? I have already written to you that you may come. But you must not rush. Come with the readiness to stay as long as I ask. Your last letter has been received. It will be answered when we meet, don't you think ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11229. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

224. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR H. PAREKH

[*June 1944*][1]

BHAI PRABHASHANKAR,

Maganbhai has at last decided to accept whatever judgment I give. But he has told me that I should give my judgment after considering his statement and your reply to him. I have agreed. If you also think it is proper then have a lawyer draft a reply to Maganbhai's statement and send it to me. Engage a competent lawyer. It would be best if you could have Mavalankar. If you have any papers, send them to me. I hope you have now recovered.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] From the contents it appears that the letter was written in June 1944; *vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 327 and 361.

225. A NOTE

July 5, 1944

This is not Ramachandran's letter. The signature is altogether different. Let the money be sent here. There are no indications that *Harijan* will be published.[1] But if it is published, you may certainly bring out its Tamil and Telugu editions.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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226. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

"DILKHUSHA",
PANCHGANI, SATARA DIST.,
July 6, 1944

DEAR MRS. NAIDU,

Bapu was very glad to have your note of the 28th ult.

His acquaintance with the late Nawab Yarjung was so slight that he does not feel any enthusiasm about sending the message you have suggested.

Bapu has a grouse against you. Sir Radhakrishnan was here yesterday. He said that you were as incorrigible about taking care of your health as ever. When are you going to turn a new leaf in this respect ? How is Padmaja ?

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

[P S.]

Dear Ammajan, Bapu's anaemia is better. Bhai forgot to mention it.

How are you ?

Love.

SUSHILA

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU
"SUKH NIWAS"
RAMKOTE
HYDERABAD
DECCAN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Publication of the journal was suspended on October 24, 1940. It was subsequently revived on February 10, 1946.

227. LETTER TO CHHOTUBHAI

PANCHGANI,
July 7, 1944

BHAI CHHOTUBHAI,

I like your letter very much because it is so candid. But you have raised questions one would not expect from a man of your intelligence. There are other co-workers like you and I sometimes wonder if my company is stifling their intelligence. All the same, I answer the questions.

1. I have not the least doubt of Russia's bravery. But I would not weigh it on the scales of non-violence.

2. It does not appear to me that anything that is happening today can be likened to the Dharasana episode. I can understand the hardship resulting from the refusal of the farmers to sell the stocks of grains lying with them to the Government at rates lower than they can afford. But the looting of Government grain stocks cannot be called non-violent whether it is done after serving prior notice or not. I have always considered and still consider salt public property like water and air. I cannot include acts like sabotage of railways, etc., in non-violence.

3. It is of course not easy to decide on a programme for someone who is bent upon facing bullets in a non-violent way, but it is not impossible. One is not duty-bound to give one's name. Informing about the action contemplated would suffice. If at the time fixed one finds that no one has come to the spot because the notice, being anonymous, had been thrown away, another notice can be sent. If this is done again and again, one day the tiger is sure to come. However, do not conclude from this that I consider the programme mentioned in the second question non-violent even if carried out after giving prior information. My answer is intended only to clear the difficulty about the third question.

4. The information contained in the cutting is more or less correct. My advice to Raojibhai was not in exercise of a right. One does not advise as a matter of right. One commands. Is that not so ? I lost the right to command from the moment of my incarceration.

5. Post Offices, courts, and so on, today do not belong to the people. Even when they come to belong to the people, they will not be personal property. Even personal property will be property belonging to the people. Out of that, only what the nation has given unto itself

or kept for itself would belong to it. I hope this provides you all the explanations you seek.

I have not revised the above.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

228. LETTER TO B. S. MOONJE

"DILKHUSHA",
PANCHGANI,
July 8, 1944

DEAR DR. MOONJE,

In reply to your letter of the 2nd inst. to Gandhiji, I am to say that you are at liberty to publish your letter of the 27th June to him.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

229. LETTER TO LILAVATI K. MUNSHI

July 11, 1944

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. I do not know what has appeared in the newspapers. I merely repeated in Ahmedabad what I had said in Bombay. I did not describe my note as a definition in Ahmedabad. There also I described it as a working guide.

I cannot yet do my own writing.

Your discovery about Kumarappa is excellent. I will keep it in mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 7677. Courtesy : K. M. Munshi

230. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

AS AT SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA (C.P.),
CAMP PANCHGANI,
[*July*][1] *12, 1944*

MY DEAR MURIEL,

I have your two dear letters. You are going through wonderful if also frightful experiences. Let us hope it is the darkness before dawn. But we must so work that the hope may be realized. We too are having our own experiences though of a different type from yours. I am working with might and maintain the direction through prayer and fasting. My energy is still very limited. Ba and Mahadev live as inspirations. More from Agatha and Horace to whom I have written at length.[2]

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

231. LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI

[After *July 12, 1944*][3]

CHI. SHAMALDAS,

I do not remember whether I have said anything to you about Bhai Munshi. I had a long talk with him. I have not found anything to justify the attack you made on him in *Vandemataram*[4]. If there is any truth in the charge, please let me know. He is quite frank with me.

I have not been able to read the comments on my talks with Gelder in full, either in English or Gujarati. Do not defend me out of modesty if my views differ from yours. You have full right to guide people according to your understanding.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The source has "June", evidently a slip.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 371-3.

[3] From the contents appears that the letter was written after "The Statement to the Press", 12-7-1944; *vide* Vol. LXXVII, p. 368.

[4] A Gujarati daily

232. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

PANCHGANI,
July 13, 1944

MY DEAR SHUAIB,

Your note and message. I have told you my head is on your lap. I do not remember the talks I had with you. Remember I am not like you. I am in the evening of life. If you see conflict between the Rajaji formula[1] and our talk tell me and I shall know. I have gone on feeling that there was no conflict. Anyway the Rajaji formula is my last word unless you differ and convince me to the contrary. Am I clear ? Let not your effort be interrupted.

Love to you and the whole family.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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233. LETTER TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

"DILKHUSHA",
PANCHGANI,
July 16, 1944

DEAR SIR TEJ,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 11th inst. as also the enclosure. Your statement had appeared only in part in the Bombay papers. He was, therefore, glad to get the full text. You must have seen in the Press the statements he has issued including the authorised texts of the two notes of his talks with Mr. Gelder.[2] For the present, having thrown a 'bombshell' he is being inundated with 'shell-shocked' letters, protests, abuse and what not. That was but to be expected. He is eager to have your considered view.

He was thankful you remembered him. He reciprocates your kind sentiment. Gandhiji felt very grateful to hear that your son was steadily improving.[3] He hopes that he will be fully restored soon.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVI, Appendix VIII.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXVII, pp. 347-52.

[3] *Vide* p. 108.

234. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI[1]

PANCHGANI,
July 16, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I can understand your lamentation. But you do not listen to my advice. You are bedridden. If instead of worrying about me you prayed to God, you would recover quicker. Even if that did not happen, you would have peace.

I am not an invalid that you imagine me to be. And mentally not at all. That is why whatever I do, I do with deliberation and care. There was a time when you could understand me from a mere hint. You could explain to others my intentions and my words. Why is it that that is no longer so ? Think about it. The reason lies only in you. If I were as ill as you and did not forget the outside world, I too would be in the same situation. You do not understand Rajaji at all. His modesty and his conduct are worth emulating. I did not lose my alertness during my fast. And when I broke my fast he showed me his draft. I am astonished that you can think him so mean as to take advantage of my weakness. To say that my statement means Pakistan shows ignorance. What can one do if Gelder bruits about it ? Rajaji's draft had nothing to do with the interview. Contain your anger. Calm yourself. And be sure that there is no contradiction in what I have done. As for Paramanand, let me see what is possible. I hope Dilip is calm. Send him to me if he is disturbed. Did your cloak fit ? I am fine.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This is a fuller version of what appears in Vol. LXXVII, 390.

235. MESSAGE TO AJIT RAI AND ARVIND DAS GUPTA

Not for publication

PANCHGANI,
July 17, 1944

My blessings you have in abundance for all the good work you may have done. My advice to all the workers is that they should learn to regard all good service as in itself a blessing. What is the use of blessings of any man however great he may be if there is no real sustained work. Blessings often deceive receivers into believing that their work is finished. Let these words be an incentive to greater effort. You should keep me in touch with your activities.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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236. LETTER TO SHYAMA PRASAD MUKHERJEE

"DILKHUSHA",
PANCHGANI,
July 18, 1944

DEAR DR. SHYAMA PRASAD,

It was a pleasure to receive your letter of 10th in appreciation of my correspondence with Government. This however I write not merely to acknowledge your letter, but to complain about the opinion you have expressed on Rajaji's formula on the communal tangle. I had heard that you were in sympathy with the formula if you had not fully endorsed it. Be that as it may I should have thought that regard being had to the relations between us and also yourself and Rajaji, you would have come and discussed the pros and cons before publishing your views. I suppose it is common cause between us that the problem should be solved, the earlier the better. If you have the time and are so minded, we can still discuss the question.[1] I expect Rajaji will be with me at Sevagram which D[eo] V[olente][2] I expect to reach early in August.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 12-13.

[2] God willing

237. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

PANCHGANI,
July 18, 1944

CHI. MIRA,

Your best and descriptive letter is before me. Devdas described your grief over my reverting to your original name. I have capitulated. I am having rich experiences of life. I am learning every day. I must not cause dear ones grief when it is avoidable. This was and is avoidable. I know you forgave me long ago. But it is good to ask for forgiveness.

My love never suffered any diminution. My fears about you have not left me. I know you have given me your assurances. But I must inform you of my doubts if I have any. I like your choice of trustees. Panditji is a tower of [a] trustee. Kanaiyalal[1] is a good soul. Devdas is a sound businessman and naturally entertains great regard for you.

Your money causes me anxiety. I am eager to transfer the sum to you. But I cannot get the proper account. You can understand the difficulty. For donations separate accounts are never kept, so at a given moment it is a difficult process to say what the Ashram's donations are.

That is your case when account was closed. And Narandas has nothing free. I shall overtake that difficulty. I shall take some time. But when you need the money for your adventure you have but to tell me and I shall place a sum at your disposal. Khurshedbehn is here. She is writing. You are following the papers.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Kanaiyalal Butail

238. LETTER TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

PANCHGANI,
July 18, 1944

DEAR KAMALADEVI,

I am late answering your letter of 4th.

I am glad you thoroughly realize the virtue of the wheel and the importance of the village programme. Mridula is coming here. Khurshedbehn is already with me. With two such stalwarts by my side, I am not likely to go wrong. My dream is to have India's women to lead the world of men who have led women up to now.

Yours,
BAPU

From the original : Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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239. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

PANCHGANI,
July 18, 1944

RESPECTED MRIDULABEHN,

Your letter has been received. It was read out to Bapu.

Respected Bapuji wants me to say that he has no doubt made changes in the translation but such changes will not distort or modify the meaning. Even so, if there are any doubts, somebody who comes can check. As it is, it has been sent after checking.

It does not matter if the Congress Committee is not involved. We are concerned only with propaganda. Hence, it is enough if it has been delivered at Poona. It would be good if it could be translated into other languages also. It will not be bad if it is translated into Marathi and published in newspapers. There is after all nothing in it that we should regret. It was and is an open talk. Hence, Shri Audh and you should in consultation decide how best this thing can be propagated. Bapu was pleased to know that Bharatanandji[1] would be looking after correspondence with the Government.

You are free to come here whenever you choose.

Bapu is recovering slowly. Bapu gave an interview to the Press after hearing from you. You will have seen in the newspapers the views that he expressed. What is your opinion ?

Regards from
KANU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11116. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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[1] Indian name given by Gandhiji to Maurice Frydman, a Polish engineer

240. A LETTER

"DILKHUSHA",
PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I appreciate your very frank letter. I shall return the courtesy by being equally frank.

The difference between now and August, 1942 is that at that time I had no knowledge of the response the people both pro-Congress and anti-Congress would make. Now I know the kind of response they made. The heroism, the suffering and the self-sacrifice of those who took part in the struggle are beyond praise; but weighed in the scales of Truth and Non-violence there were glaring defects in the demonstration and I can only say that India failed to reach her natural goal because of those defects. Whatever may be true of other nations I have no doubt that India can come to her own fully only by truthful and non-violent means. In the face of sabotage and the like the rulers as usual lost their heads and resorted to reprisals unheard of before. I write under correction. I have asked for an impartial tribunal for investigation of the charges against the Congress and counter-charges against the Government. Unless I am convinced to the contrary, I shall continue to believe that the mole-hill of popular violence has been shown on behalf of the Government to have been a mountain and the Himalayan violence of the authorities has been generally defended as no more than necessary for the occasion. I must, therefore, refuse to judge popular action by the footrule of Truth and Non-violence unless I can apply the same measure for the Governmental action. This is one difference.

The second difference is the terrible and progressive starvation of the people. Whether it is due to the wrath of God or the incompetence of the rulers or the universal pressure of the War is not relevant to the elucidation of my reply.

I hold that these two causes mark a decisive difference between now and 1942. I would be unworthy of my creed if I failed to make use of all the resources of head and heart that God has vouchsafed to me for discovering a solution of the deadlock. What is that solution submitted by me ·? It is nothing less than the present declaration of freedom of India, limited during the War period by the exigencies of the War. This limitation you know. If that offer is accepted then I would be criminally guilty if I did not advise the Congress to accept it. If my proposal reaches full fruition, what is today a war of brute strength against brute strength would be turned into a war for the liberation of the exploited people of the world. Then it would be a war between predominantly moral strength plus minimum of brute strength matched against pure brute strength which is being used for the exploitation of China and the weaker states of Europe. I hope you will now agree with me that my move is not one of political expediency but a necessary corollary of the creed which I cherish dearer than life. If you have further difficulty about understanding my position, please write again.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

241. LETTER TO DWARKADAS SHAH

PANCHGANI,
July 21, 1944

BHAI DWARKADAS SHAH,

I have your letter. An organization which has only Hindu members can hardly be called a national organization. Moreover, those who believe that independence can be achieved through non-violence, should from today eschew any training based on violence. I myself do not know what will happen after the attainment of independence and therefore believe that that may be true in the case of others too. I feel that this should clear your doubts.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

242. CABLE TO NORMAN CLIFF[1]

PANCHGANI,
July 23, 1944

NORMAN CLIFF
FOREIGN EDITOR
"NEWS CHRONICLE"
LONDON

YOUR CABLE. I SHARE FULLY BRITISH SORROWS AND SUFFERINGS. MY ONLY EXCUSE FOR INTERVENING IS THAT MY PROPOSALS ARE AS MUCH IN THE INTERESTS OF BRITAIN AS OF INDIA AND I WANT THE POOREST IN INDIA SO FAR AS THEY ARE INFLUENCED BY CONGRESS TO BE ACTIVELY IDENTIFIED WITH THOSE SUFFERINGS. ANSWER FIRST QUESTION. "RAJAGOPALACHARI'S PROPOSAL ALREADY SUBMITTED PUBLICLY MUSLIM LEAGUE PRESIDENT WITH MY APPROVAL. PUBLIC BODIES ALREADY DISCUSSING FREELY EXPRESSING OPINION." ANSWER TO TWO "NO QUESTION WHATEVER OF MASS STRUGGLE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FORMED AFTER MANNER PROPOSED BY ME. ASSUMING GOVERNMENT AND CONGRESS ACCEPT PROPOSAL, IT PRESUPPOSES HEARTY CO-OPERATION WAR EFFORT WITHOUT INCURRING FINANCIAL LIABILITY." ANSWER TO THREE. "YOU SHOULD KNOW I CEASED TO BE MEMBER CONGRESS IN NINETEEN-THIRTY-FOUR BUT CONGRESS CONSTITUTION DEFINITELY PLEDGES CONGRESS TO NON-VIOLENCE." ANSWER TO FOUR. "AUGUST RESOLUTION IS NOBLE DECLARATION OF WHICH I AM PROUD. HOPE CONGRESS WILL NEVER SUPERSEDE IT. CLAUSE RELATING TO SANCTION HAS CAUSED OFFENCE. I HAVE SAID IT WAS NEVER PUT INTO OPERATION BY ME AND AT THIS STAGE I CANNOT DO SO EVEN IF MY POWER IS REVIVED AFTER MY DISCHARGE. IF GOVERNMENT DESIRE CONGRESS CO-OPERATION MY PROPOSAL HONOURABLE BOTH PARTIES AND PROVIDES FOR ALL THAT GOVERNMENT CAN POSSIBLY WANT." END MESSAGE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] An extract from this has been reproduced in Vol. LXXVII, p. 413.

243. LETTER TO STUART GELDER

"DILKHUSHA",
PANCHGANI,
July 23, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

In terms of your last telegram Gandhiji has asked me to send you his replies to Mr. Norman Cliff's questions for transmission to the *News Chronicle* instead of writing them direct to London. I am enclosing too herewith a copy of Mr. Cliff's wire to Gandhiji, although I now understand that you have received the same also from Mr. Cliff himself. Gandhiji desires me to say that he would like his replies to be sent without any alteration or addition. You may, however, add your comment for purposes of elucidation, if you find it necessary.

Gandhiji hopes that you are now on the road to recovery.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

STUART GELDER, ESQ.
C/O FRANK MORAES, ESQ.
"GREEN FIELDS"
CHURCHGATE RECLAMATION
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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244. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

PANCHGANI,
July 24, 1944

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. Without yet having any definite statement from Narandas, I have already arranged for transfer to Devdas of Rs. 25,000/– to be placed at your disposal. You are not likely to want more at once. I hope to transfer more as soon as I hear from Rajkot.

I got rid of the cold long ago. The weather here has agreed with me. Manilal and his daughter Sita are with me. We leave here for Sevagram on 3rd or 4th.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

245. LETTER TO LALA DUNICHAND

"DILKHUSHA",
PANCHGANI,
July 25, 1944

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 15th inst. He desires me to thank you for the information you have conveyed to him. He was not ignorant of those facts. He is doing all he can. His statements and interviews in the Press will serve to give you a picture of his present mind.

His health is fair only in the sense that it might have been worse. He intends returning to Sevagram on the 2nd of August.

Yours sincerely,

LALA DUNICHAND, B. A.
KRIPANIVAS COTTAGE
AMBALA CITY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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246. LETTER TO NATARAJAN

PANCHGANI,
July 25, 1944

DEAR MR. NATARAJAN,

It was good of you to have sent your letter through Balasaheb[1]. I appreciate the kind thought that prompted it. I do not want to send an argumentative letter in reply. All I wish to say is that it is the logical corollary of the Congress resolution to which I was party.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I have read your letter three times. You know how I value your opinion. It occurs to me that you should invite Rajaji for a private and friendly discussion.

M. K. G.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] B. G. Kher

247. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

PANCHGANI,
July 25, 1944

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. I have explained everything to Kher Saheb[1]. Hence I am not writing a separate letter to you. Are you coming or not ? We are waiting.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11230. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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248. LETTER TO ACHYUT PATWARDHAN

[After *August 2, 1944*][2]

BHAI A.,

I have your letter. I do not wish that you should come out in the open until you are convinced at heart. I have only pointed out to the contradiction between non-violence and underground activities and destruction of property. There is no question at all of the Congress control in this matter. I would like to go to the extent of saying that anything done without full understanding will harm the Congress. I shall not be hurt at all if you and other workers do not agree with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] B. G. Kher

[2] This letter was in reply to the addressee's letter of August 2, 1944.

249. LETTER TO S. K. BELVALKAR

August 6, 1944

DEAR DR. BELVALKAR,

I thank you for your letter. Usha[1] has misled you if she told you that I had read through your volume on the *Gita*. I wish I could have found time to do so. What, however, I did tell her was that the volume was before me and from the little time I was able to give to it I found it fascinating and I expected to profit greatly by my study of it.

Though I call myself a devotee of the *Gita* I cannot lay claim to any scholarship. My knowledge of Sanskrit is limited and so is my knowledge of the Hindu scripture. All I can claim is an inexhaustible love for them. However, I shall certainly give you my further reaction when I have been able to read through your book.

Of course I never thought that you wrote your book with any commercial intention.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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250. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM,
August 7, 1944

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I was wondering why I had not received the customary *rakhadi* from you. Well, I got it today. Has Shankerlal also returned ? What are your plans ?

Blessings to all of you. I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ANASUYABEHN
MARINE DRIVE
BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : S. N. 32769

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[1] Addressee's daughter

251. LETTER TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

[Before *August 8, 1944*][1]

DEAR SIR TEJ,

I have put P. on an important job. I presume you will reach Wardha in the evening on 8th. Though I have gained much by my stay in P[anch]gani, I must be cautious. Mornings are, therefore, devoted to massage. I am at your disposal after 12 on 9th. K. B. has made all arrangements for your stay in Wardha. You will be rec[eived] at the station on 8th and you will decide where you will stay. If I have misunderstood your letter, you will please wire. The rest when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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252. LETTER TO RAJA GOVINDALAL SHIVLAL

ASHRAM,
SEVAGRAM,
August 8, 1944

DEAR RAJA SAHEB,

Gandhiji has your letter of 16th inst.

Your argument is built partly on fallacy and partly on disregard of facts. Acceptance of the C.R. formula by Gandhiji concedes nothing but the insistent demand of the minorities for self-determination. It carries no other implication. Far from absolving the seceding units from 'moral obligation' to give their support to [the] freedom movement, it lays down that the separation can only come after attainment of complete independence with [the] co-operation of those who claim the right to secede. Further, it stipulates the creation of a special machinery for the joint administration of matters of common concern to the two sovereign states such as defence, foreign affairs, railways, currency, economic planning, etc. The provision embodying this arrangement will be an integral part of the charter for separation.

Nationalist Muslims are not let down by the formula, since they were parties to the self-determination resolution of the Working Committee that met at Delhi in April, 1942.

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[1] Gandhiji had returned to Wardha from Panchgani on August 3, 1944 and had discussions with the addressee on August 9, 1944. From the reference to the addressee reaching Wardha on August 8, it appears that the letter was written before that date.

The need for them to stand by their principles will be even greater under independence. That will be the real testing time for them.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

RAJA GOVINDALAL SHIVLAL
SHRI SADAN
15 NARAYAN DABHAOLKAR ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY - 6

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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255. LETTER TO PRATAP DIALDAS

ASHRAM, SEVAGRAM,
August 8, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I do not know whether I sent you any reply to your letter of 24th July to Bapu.

This is just to say that he will thankfully accept the donation of Rs. 10,000/- which Shrimati Jasodabai Lokoomal proposes to make.

As desired by her it will be equally divided between the Harijan and the Rashtrabhasha cause.

He has also accepted your request and you therefore would be free to draw according to requirement for Rashtrabhasha work in Sind from the portion earmarked for [the] Rashtrabhasha cause.

I have sent a copy of your letter and Bapu's directions on that to Shri Shantikumar Morarjee.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI PRATAP DIALDAS
HYDERABAD
SIND

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

254. TELEGRAM TO SHYAMA PRASAD MUKHERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
August 9, 1944

DR. SHYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE
ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE ROAD
CALCUTTA

YOU MAY PUBLISH YOUR LETTER 7TH INSTANT BUT YOUR INTERPRETATION OF MY REMARKS REQUIRES AMENDMENT. ADVISE AWAITING MEETING.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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255. LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

SEVAGRAM,
August 9, 1944

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of 2nd inst., since the Oxford University Press is not conducted for profit, I should think that a net profit being stipulated for, there should be no objection to a minimum profit. The only inducement to the Navajivan Trust, and for that matter also for me, to have a well-known concern like yours publishing Shri R. K. Prabhu's compilation can be to acquire the widest publicity possible outside India for it.

The Navajivan Press exists only for printing writings like Shri Prabhu's compilation as cheaply as possible for Indian readers. The object therefore undoubtedly is to publish an edition as cheap as possible and certainly cheaper than yours. Therefore it would be improper to hold over publication of such an Indian edition till your stock is exhausted. If you rely chiefly on Indian sales, I think the contemplated publication by you might be dropped. Labours of the authors will not go unrewarded in any case. I will ask the Navajivan Trust to cover them and publish their compilation whenever they are in a position to do so.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE GENERAL MANAGER
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
POST BOX 31
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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256. LETTER TO KAILASH NATH KATJU

ASHRAM, SEVAGRAM,
August 9, 1944

DEAR KATJUJI,

I had your letter of 24th July which I placed before Bapuji.

By the time this reaches you you will have seen the summary of Bapu's recent talk with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji – not the United Press summary that has appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 7th August, but the authentic and authorised version. . .

Gandhiji cannot and will not be party to an arrangement which implies freedom to wage war against India and imperil her defence. "That would be sin", and it cannot be had by 'agreement'. That would be a contradiction in terms.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

DR. K. N. KATJU
19 EDMONDSTONE ROAD
ALLAHABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXVII, p. 353.

257. LETTER TO JAYANTILAL

SEVAGRAM,
August 11, 1944

CHI. JAYANTILAL,

I have your letter. Your modesty has vanquished me. If what you say is the whole truth, I have nothing to say. I shall use the money. I shall not disclose your name. You come to Sevagram after I am finished with Jinnah Saheb. We shall talk further. I shall try to understand you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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258. TELEGRAM TO ANIL CHANDRA

Express

August 12, 1944

ANIL CHANDRA
32 NANDAN ROAD
CALCUTTA

PROVISIONALLY THIRD SEPTEMBER SEVAGRAM. WRITING.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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259. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

August 12, 1944

BHAI GOPICHAND,

I have read your letter to Pyarelal. Munshiji had been there and he has posted me with news from there.

What you write about Rajaji is not correct. I have already discussed the matter with Rajaji. Whatever be the case, I am not going to meet him[1] with that in mind. To me, Rajaji's formula is the final thing. If it is proved that there is any fault in it, I can remedy it. You at least should not have any fear in your mind. If anybody from Punjab desires to meet me, I shall certainly meet him. For instance people from Bengal were here. Even if I have not been able to satisfy them, at least I have succeeded in removing their feeling of disappointment. In fact my impression is that I have even been able to satisfy them. Even if somebody cannot come here from Punjab, he can certainly write.

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[1] M. A. Jinnah

You will have recovered your health.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

260. *LETTER TO UMASHANKAR DIXIT*

ASHRAM, SEVAGRAM,
August 14, 1944

DEAR DIXIT,

Gandhiji had your letter of the 10th instant.

He would naturally like to know your views, but he has hardly any time left, every available minute being already booked up, to give an appointment before leaving for Bombay.

He expects to be in Bombay for only a day or so. In case his stay there is extended you can try to see him in Bombay.

In the meantime he would like you to send him your formula.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIXIT
231-234 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

261. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM,
August 14, 1944

CHI. LILI,

You are still what you were at the age of fourteen – extremely restless and scared and never satisfied in any situation whatever. Must you go on like this the whole of your life? Why can you not understand the simple thing that you are engaged in studies and it is your duty to complete them? The Ashram teaches you to do only limited work of service while carrying on the studies. Try to understand this if you can. Even if you do not understand, you will hear nothing else from me. Think of something else only when you have completed your studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
G. E. MEDICAL COLLEGE
LADIES STUDENTS' HOSTEL
PAREL, G.I.P. RLY.
BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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262. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.,
August 18, 1944

CHI. MRIDULA,

I had your telegram. I have replied to it. I hope Kanjibhai will be able to come on Tuesday.

It is not right that you keep falling ill. I think you alone are to blame for it. You do not take care of your health and are stubborn. You are thereby wasting your body and you will end up by becoming unfit for work. Had you been a little patient and spent a fortnight at Panchgani, you would have greatly benefited. Had you come to Poona, I would have had you treated by Dinshaw right before my eyes. It is quite likely that you would have learnt a wonderful way to improve your health. I cannot accept your explanation that there was a lot of work to do in Gujarat. Satyagrahis of the front rank should also learn to look after their health. I have not written all this to admonish you but to warn you for the future. Keep me informed about your health. If you are well enough to come here, do come. Bring your mosquito-net with you. Then you will have nothing to fear from the climate here.

I find the mosquitoes a nuisance, otherwise the air is good.

I cannot say when it will be possible for me to meet the Quaid-e-Azam.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11117. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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263. LETTER TO AMRITLAL SHETH

SEVAGRAM,
August 19, 1944

BHAI AMRITLAL,

You have indeed removed my fear by taking a pledge. Even so I continue to have some fear. I have been wanting to write to you these many days, but have not had the time.

Why can't you two warriors meet ? I have not written to Shamaldas. We have a gigantic task before us. I have come to understand from our talks that you have started believing in ahimsa and truth. The strength derived from these two virtues should be organized. It seems to be going waste these days. True ahimsa needs no organization. It is always organized.

Chi. Chhaganlal has given me clippings from a Gujarati paper. I enclose the ones which concern you. Can't newspapers be published without such advertisements?

Blessings from
BAPU

A. J. SHETH

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

264. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SEVAGRAM,
August 20, 1944

MY DEAR BULBUL-E-HIND,

Though I seem to have neglected you, you have not neglected me. Thank you fot it. The reason for not sending you even love letters is that work before me has taxed all my time and energy. I have not asked you to come because I have relied only on God's guidance. I do not know what I am going to say when I face beard the lion.[1] I rely on Him giving me the word. You can fill in the details.

Love to you all.

SPINNER

[PS.]

I have your latest A.R.S.'s letter.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

265. LETTER TO V. V. NENE

August 20, 1944

BHAI NENE,

I have your letter. I had no knowledge that I would be arrested so soon or arrested at all. I did have a plan but was arrested before it could be announced. And there were to be negotiations first. I cannot say whether or not I would have met Jinnah Saheb.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The reference presumably is to Gandhiji's impending meeting with Jinnah.

266. LETTER TO HUMAYUN KABIR

SEVAGRAM,
August 21, 1944

MY DEAR HUMAYUN,

I value your frank letter received today. You deserve a long reply but I must be brief, if I am to reply at once which I am doing.

I do not endorse any Pakistan but I do endorse Rajaji's scheme even if it be called Pakistan. It is a concrete form of the Congress resolution. The Rajaji Formula merely furnishes a basis for discussion. It opens a way to the solution of the communal tangle. Everybody who does not like it is free to oppose it. If you think that it will harm the country you are bound to oppose it. If Muslim opinion dislikes it, it must go. It will go also if Hindus and others oppose it. The Rajaji Formula furnishes a scheme for voluntary acceptance. There is no room for discussion, if it is to be imposed by force. I could be no party to a forcible imposition of a thing even if of my own coining. Here therefore there is no question of ignoring or disregarding nationalist Muslims or any other section. Quaid-e-Azam represents the League. I represent nobody but myself.

I did read your contribution to *Bharat Jyoti*. Your book, I am sorry, I have not been able to touch.

You should know that we (Rajaji and I) have reserved the right to oppose even the modified scheme of partition, if it ever goes to the poll. We are not enamoured of it. But if there must be sovereign states, we have said what we will voluntarily endorse. But we would be pleased if the country, i.e., in this case the majority of Muslims concerned reject it jointly with other inhabitants of the areas concerned.

So you see that you should come if you can spare the time. It is not too late.

Amtul Salaam had a lot to say about you and your wife's kindness to her. She also told me that you had stolen a Hindu girl for wife[1], that she was extremely devoted to you and that she was able to remain Hindu.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

[1] Shanti

267. LETTER TO K. G. GOKHALE

SEVAGRAM,
August 21, 1944

BHAI GOKHALE,[1]

The question of parole is most difficult.

What is good for one need not be good for all. The general rule should be no acceptance of parole. It admits of many exceptions. I must not judge past cases.

Membership of Food Committees also presents difficulties. If a person like Gangadhar Rao finds that he can serve the people without compromising national interest, I must refuse to sit in judgment on him. And I have no time to examine his conduct on merits.

Post of jail visitor I hold generally to be of little advantage. But I cannot lay down hard and fast rules.

I must plead with you to absolve me from advising you personally. You must judge for yourself and act fearlessly. Principles of conduct can be, and have been laid down. Their application is no easy task. Appasaheb's letter was not shown to me. There was no need. He was asked to deal with your letter. He did according to his light.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI[2]

K. G. GOKHALE, B. A. PLEADER, M.L.A.
C/O A. V. GHARE, ESQ.
ESTATE MANAGER OF SARDAR RASTE
P. O. TALIKOT
DISTT. BIJAPUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] & [2] The superscription and subscription are in Devanagari.

268. LETTER TO BARI KHAN

SEVAGRAM,
August 21, 1944

MY DEAR BARI[1],

You have done well in writing to me. I have advice from all quarters. But I have chosen the one Infallible Adviser. I feel secure in His bosom.

You should come after I have seen the Q. A.

Love.

BAPU

BARI KHAN SAHIB
21 ALKAPURI
BARODA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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269. LETTER TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

BOMBAY,
August 21, 1944

CHI. KISHORELAL,

Your letter and the Government's action on it have agitated everyone. I could not bring myself to pull up Gomati. When all is said and done she is a well brought up and responsible girl. Still, it is difficult to be patient at such times. So she is coming. Manilal of course will come. It might be all right if Nilkanth were not to come. As for Gomati's poor brother, why should he be left out ? Without Swami of course everything will seem dreary. But what will you do ? I am hoping you will send back everyone with laughter on their faces. But even if this hope is not realized, I am ready for it. Many sacrifices will have to be made. He will do as He wills. We have to learn the *mantra* of living by dying.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Brother of Amtussalaam

[2] For Gandhiji's affirmation, twenty-four years earlier, of his faith in the power of the soul which 'lives' by 'dying', *vide* Vol. XVIII, p. 157, para 3.

270. LETTER TO ABDUR REHMAN

August 21, 1944

BHAI ABDUR REHMAN,

The Nightingale of India has sent on to me the letter you wrote her. I have perused it carefully. As far as I am concerned I have made up my mind that Dominion Status will not be acceptable to me, even if the Congress changes its stand. So long as the Hindus and the Muslims live in fear of each other, we will always have the British as our overlords. It has been my endeavour to give up that fear myself and persuade others to do the same. It is with that very purpose that I am going to meet the Quaid-e-Azam. Let us see what God grants us.

. . . . [1] I have faith in democracy. In non-violence nothing else is conceivable. It is another matter whether ultimately we accept it or not. For me there is no other way.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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271. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[2]

August 23, 1944

QUESTION : Mahatmaji, you have been during your whole political career a strong supporter of the integrity of India and an opponent of vivisection. How do you reconcile your present position in giving support to Rajaji's proposals ?

ANSWER : There is no change in my views. I am even today as much against vivisection of India as ever before. Rajaji's formula concedes right of self-determination, but it does not concede Pakistan – an indefinite and undefined expression. As a believer in non-violence I cannot use force in keeping people of a particular area inside India if they want to separate. All I can do is to persuade them.

Q. Whatever be the result of your negotiations with Mr. Jinnah, don't you think that the British statesmen taking advantage of Rajaji's offer, which has your support, will divide India into two parts and establish two rival federations instead of one and thereby find an additional reason for the continuance of British control ?

A. I do not think the British statesmen will do it, unless they want it themselves and have independently so decided. They know that forty crores of people cannot be kept under permanent bondage. The world forces are moving so fast that whether the British Government will or not India must be free at no distant date. Furthermore, Rajaji's formula definitely lays down that the exercise of the right of self-determination can only accrue after independence.

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[1] The letter is damaged here.

[2] The questions were asked by Lala Brijlal.

Q. The non-Muslims of the Punjab and of Bengal feel panicky about Rajaji's formula because they are afraid that under this formula the non-Muslims in the separated areas will be thrown into Pakistan.

A. From the reports that I receive it is evident that so far as the Punjab is concerned there is already Pakistan in action. The religious and cultural rights of the non-Muslims they say are denied to them. My informants say that undue restrictions are placed on non-Muslim leaders and their womenfolk cannot even move about freely for fear of molestation. If this is a true picture I don't think the position will be in any way worse in "Pakistan" if ever it is established.

The people of the Punjab and Bengal need entertain no false fears, as I am not going to sell them off. I have no right to do so. No individual can barter away rights of brave people endowed with self-confidence. Today I enjoy the confidence of the people because they believe that their intersests are safe in my hands and I cannot betray them. If tomorrow I act against their wishes and interests I shall be stoned by these very people who now trust me. I am rather pained at the nervousness exhibited by the Sikhs who are a brave community. Unless they have lost the chivalrous spirit and bravery which the Gurus infused in them, they need entertain no fears about my coming talks with Mr. Jinnah.

I have already explained in my Press statement and I repeat again that nothing will be done by me or us to the prejudice of any section of the Indian population and whatever proposals are agreed to between Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and myself will be open to confirmation, amendment and rejection by the representatives of various communities and interests. There is no idea of forcing anything on anybody against his will.

Q. If Pakistan ever comes into existence don't you think, Mahatmaji, the existence of a rival independent state in the north-west will be a constant danger to the independence of India?

A. Thirty crores and over of inhabitants living in India have nothing to fear from two crores of Muslims living in the north-west. If the former are so weak as not to be able to defend themselves against two crores of persons in the north-west, then they have no right to ask for independence.

I have no doubt in my mind that if India becomes independent, Indians will be able to defend themselves against any outside aggression with the resources at their disposal.

Q. Mahatmaji, all your attempts during the last twenty years or over for bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity have gone in vain and Hindu-Muslim relations today are as much strained as ever before. Don't you think that India has been put on the wrong track and communal electorates are the bane of the Indian constitution? The Muslim demand for Pakistan and Mr. Jinnah's propounding of the two-nation theory are the natural sequences of separate electorates and communal reservations and so long as the principle of separate electorates on religious basis continues to disfigure the constitution of our country, there is no chance of the Hindus and Muslims living at peace as members of the great Indian nations ? If you agree with the above contention why don't you give a right lead to the country by pressing for joint electorates as the basis of political rights?

A. I do believe that separate electorates have done more harm than good.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

272. *LETTER TO SHAMALDAS GANDHI*

SEVAGRAM,
[Before *August 24, 1944*][1]

CHI, SHAMALDAS[2],

I take it that your letter about Munshiji will yet come.

Today I shall write on another subject. Some Gujarati newspapers come here. I hardly read any but others do. One of them is Chhaganlal. He and other readers of the Gujarati newspapers are of the opinion that vulgarity in advertisements displayed in Gujarati papers is frightening. Pyarelalji says that some Urdu and Hindi newspapers surpass Gujarati papers in this respect. Some years ago I had commented on the subject in *Harijan*. It yielded good results for a time. Later on it became as bad as before. I therefore asked Chhaganlal to give me clippings. One of the clippings of the Gujarati papers he has given me is from *Vandemataram*. I send it herewith. I have now only a short while to live. God will take as much work from me as He wants. Are these the drumbeats of approaching independence ? Can't you do without this earning? Is it only on this condition that you can bring out the newspaper ? Ponder over it and let me know.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] From the reference to advertisements in Gujarati newspapers it appears that this was written before the letter to the addressee dated August 24, 1944; *vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p 48 and also p 126.

[2] Editor, *Vandemataram*

273. LETTER TO TARADEVI NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
August 25, 1944

DEAR SISTER,

I know you want to have Sushila with you for a good many days. Sushila was going there direct. You may as well say that I have made her get down on the way. Her luggage too is lying at Bajajwadi. I need Sushila here. Hence I wish you would let her remain here. What I would like most is all the three of you coming here. Then I shall be able to see you, Pyarelal will be able to see you, and it will be convenient in every way. If you really cannot come, then I shall send Sushila when I conveniently can. Remember that my days are numbered. Hence I would again urge you to come.

Blessings to the three of you,
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

274. LETTER TO R. K. PRABHU

SEVAGRAM,
August 26, 1944

MY DEAR PRABHU,

Yours to hand. I have offered what has appeared to me the fairest terms. If the main source of revenue is India, then there is not much in seeking publishers with a foreign fame. I am quite clear that we in India must sell at the lowest price. Will the Oxford Press be satisfied if the Navajivan Trust covers the cost hitherto incurred and lets us have what they have printed. I write this subject to confirmation by the Trust. Do not be agitated. Come to see me if necessary.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

275. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEVAGRAM,
August 28, 1944

CHI. MIRA,[1]

Yours of 22nd received yesterday. You are having a bad time. You must take care of yourself. If you feel like coming here, of course you will not hesitate. You will not fear me. I am a changed man I hope. You may look to me to find you Rs. 50,000. Narandas is over head and ears in work. I do not care to trouble him. You can either recall what was received or tell me what is the limit up to which you would spend.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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276. LETTER TO BHAGIRATH KANODIA

SEVAGRAM,
August 29, 1944

BHAI BHAGIRATH,

Your letter astonishes me. Rajaji can never dupe me. Those who talk thus understand neither Rajaji nor me. Those who say such things would do better to put it in writing. I have never said anything of the kind.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAGIRATHJI KANODIA
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE
CALCUTTA

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] In Devanagari

277. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

3.25 a.m., Silence-day
[On or before *September 4, 1944*][1]

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I saw yesterday that my point had not been understood.

The matter of utensils, etc., was only an instance. It made me see the extent of our imperfections.

In my view, in moments of crisis we have not shown the qualities that the inmates of the Ashram should have. Those qualities cannot be cultivated in a day. A handful of you may maintain some order. But how does that help? What knowledge do women have? What part can they intelligently play? Can everybody sacrifice himself in a way that would befit the Ashram? Can you stand today before India as an embodiment of the Ashram? Let us realize our weakness. There is something lacking in my training. If that is the case, then we must proceed with that realization. Balkrishna cannot be of much help in this. Jajuji can. Vallabh can. If you want, do discuss it with me. If I have been able to put across my point, you can take a decision without discussing it with me. I shall accept whatever you do. I see no harm since Jajuji has been involved. His guidance would be invaluable. You should not think it shameful to wind up the Ashram. Its winding up may mean building it up. If you wind it up, give thought to my idea of a smaller one.

Do not feel perturbed. Have the utmost patience. All of you should read this and think it over. There is no harm if you cannot come to any decision before I go to Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10664-A

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[1] From the reference to the winding up of the Ashram and Gandhiji's visit to Bombay, it appears that this was written before Gandhiji left for Bombay on September 9, 1944. Silence-day, i.e., the Monday before that, was on September 4. *Vide* also Vol. LXXVIII, p. 106.

278. LETTER TO R. E. HAWKINS

SEVAGRAM,
September 4, 1944

DEAR MR. HAWKINS,

Do please see me in Bombay. I hope to reach on 9th. You will arrange the time when I reach there. You won't feel disappointed if I cannot find the time. I should be obliged if we can discover a way out.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE GENERAL MANAGER
THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
B. I. BUILDING
NICOL ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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279. LETTER TO BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
September 4, 1944

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

If you do not know my mind as you presume to know my pulse, the fault is wholly yours. If you have not found me forward to initiate political discussions with you, it is due to a delicate consideration for you. I may not take an undue advantage of your kindness in coming to me in your medical capacity. People have a right to expect you to know my mind.

I have not accepted the two-nation theory. I have accepted the principle of self-determination underlying it.

The second thing has been assured in the formula.

Ask any questions you like.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

280. LETTER TO SECRETARY, KASTURBA MEMORIAL FUND

BIRLA HOUSE,
BOMBAY,
September 9, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I am enclosing herewith a scheme outlining the curriculum for the education of women for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

SECRETARY
KASTURBA NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND COMMITTEE
SCINDIA HOUSE
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

281. LETTER TO SUDHIR GHOSH

BIRLA HOUSE,
BOMBAY,
September 9, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your letter of the 29th August enclosing a letter from Mr. Graham White.

You certainly can come to Sevagram with Mrs. Ghosh on Gandhiji's return after the meeting with Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH
TISCO HOTEL
JAMSHEDPUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

282. *LETTER TO VISHWAS N. NAIK*

BOMBAY,
September 17, 1944

DEAR NAIK,

The matter you refer to has been fixed up.[1] I return Shri Munshi's letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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283. *NOTE TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA*

October 4, 1944

I wish I had come in greater contact with Laxmidevi than I have been able to. I hope she has benefited by her stay here. You will judge. Krishna Gopal Dutt has written a biting letter against you. I have repudiated all the allegations as unworthy. But he sticks to them. If you have anything to say please do. What has made him so bitter ? What is the charge about some iron having been bought ? I hope you are progressing. Let me know your future plans.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The addressee had requested Gandhiji to write a letter to K. M. Munshi permitting him to appear in the trial of his elder brother Vasant Naik, M.L.A., on September 21, 1944.

284. LETTER TO DR. SHYAMA PRASAD MUKHERJEE

SEVAGRAM,
October 6, 1944

DEAR DR. MUKHERJEE,

As desired by Gandhiji I am herewith sending you a letter from Smt. Sachi Rani Sinha Roy of village Gobindapur, District Tippera.

It seems to be a genuine case of distress calling for aid. Gandhiji feels that you ought to be able to do something for it. Kindly drop a line in reply and oblige.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

DR. SHYAMA PRASAD MUKHERJEE
77 ASUTOSH MUKHERJEE ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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285. LETTER TO B. DAS

SEVAGRAM,
October 6, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your letter of the 19th September and the kind sentiments expressed in it.

It was good of you to have sent all the news about the members of Shri Gopabandhu Chaudhury's family.

He would like you to keep him posted about the doings in Orissa.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI B. DAS, M. L. A. (CENTRAL)
CHANDNI CHOWK
CUTTACK

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

286. LETTER TO YUVARAJA OF PITHAPURAM

SEVAGRAM,
October 6, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 3rd inst. and the enclosed statement.

He does not feel like putting you to the inconvenience of coming here. Moreover, at present every moment of his is pre-mortgaged.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

THE YUVARAJA OF PITHAPURAM
VASANTASOBHA
TEYNAMPET P. O.
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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287. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

[*October 9, 1944*][1]

CHI. MRIDU,

After reading Munshi's letter put it in an envelope and return it.

Read Jehangirji's letter to Bapa. Accept any date that is ultimately decided if you approve of the letter. Speak to Ambalalbhai[2] about this letter. In that case, I would not be required to write to anyone else.

If Mahmud[3] is definitely coming, inform me telegraphically and let me know in detail about his requirerments. We shall put him up only at Bajajwadi. We shall not trouble him to come to Sevagram. I shall go to Bajajwadi on that day. If you have understood my argument, discuss it with Bapa and Mangaldas[4], or if you would rather keep quiet, then do so. In my view the question is important. Today there is no one who will hear me in the matter.

Don't spoil your health by running about too much.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11119. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

[1] From the reference to K. M. Munshi's and J.R.D. Tata's letters, it appears that this letter was written on the same day as the one to Amritlal V. Thakkar, dated October 9, 1944; *vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 166 and 167.

[2] Ambalal Sarabhai

[3] Syed Mahmud

[4] Mangaldas Pakvasa

288. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEVAGRAM,
October 11, 1944

DEAR BAPA,

We can do nothing about Chandvani.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

289. LETTER TO HERBERT G. WOOD

SEVAGRAM,
October 12, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you remember your letter to me of 21st July, 1942. You rightly say that if your suggestion is right I would not be deterred from accepting it. As I see it, it is not right even after two years. How can a captive people help other oppressed people except by being free?

Your letter was given to me on my accidental release in the early part of this year.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

HERBERT G. WOOD, ESQ.
WOODBROOKE,
SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM 29

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

290. LETTER TO A. KALESWARA RAO

October 14, 1944

DEAR KALESWARA RAO,

Bapu was very glad to have your letter of the 8th inst.

He is sorry about Shri Narayanarayu's demise. We shall have to make such sacrifices before the battle of freedom is won.

Thanks for your suggestions which have been duly taken note of by Gandhiji.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI A. KALESWARA RAO
SANTIKUTIR
NANDI GRAM
KRISHNA DISTT

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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291. LETTER TO ABDUL QAIYUM

October 14, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 6th instant.

In regard to your question Gandhiji desires me to say that if the party members are in favour of attending the session of the Assembly he is not going to interfere.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

JANAB ABDUL QAIYUM
M. L. A. (CENTRAL)
ABIGUZAR
SRINAGAR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

292. LETTER TO GLADYS OWEN

SEVAGRAM,
October 15, 1944

MY DEAR GLADYS,

This is just to thank you for your letter and to say you must take care of yourself.

Love.

BAPU

MISS GLADYS OWEN
NUR MANZIL
LAL BAGH
LUCKNOW
U.P.

From a photostat : C. W. 11282. Courtesy : Dr. Priyamvada Mathur

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293. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA, C.P., INDIA,
October 15, 1944

MY DEAR AGATHA,

Yours of 27th September reached me yesterday. First about Henry[1]. If I had received any letter from him I would have answered immediately. But I have nothing from him. I have enquired of both Pyarelal and Kanu and no letter from him can be found. I have registered my complaint. I don't want to ruffle him by repeating the complaint. Everybody I have met is sore at heart about his doings in U.S.A. Please give my love to Henry and Millie[2].

About the developments here you know enough. I can add nothing except this that I am still trying. My trust in the God of Truth or better still in Truth which is God cannot be shaken under any conceivable circumstance. That for me is the rock of ages.

I hope Horace received my cable welcoming you, Muriel and him or any of you. I am in touch with the Metropolitan of Calcutta and now with the Bishop of Rangoon. This is only by the way to tell you of the company I keep and cultivate.

---

[1] H. S. L. Polak

[2] Millie Graham Polak, wife of H. S. L. Polak

I am keeping as well as I can.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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294. A FOREWORD

SEVAGRAM,
October 16, 1944

Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit has asked me to pen a few words about the late Ranjit Pandit's unfinished rendering of *Ritusanhar*. I consider myself wholly unfit to do justice to the author's effort nor does Vijayalaxmi expect me to attempt the impossible. But the touching circumstances under which Ranjit Pandit made the effort need emphasising. It is remarkable how much India owes to political imprisonments. Lokmanya's celebrated work on the *Gita* would not have seen the light of day but for his imprisonment nor Jawaharlal Nehru's world-known works. Ranjit Pandit's *Rajtarangini* and his labours on *Ritusanhar* might not have been but for his imprisonments. And he was ailing in the prison. His literary labours made him forget his pain. Instead of a preface the author's introductory notes are deeply interesting and instructive. It reveals to us Ranjit Pandit as a patriot and scholar. Having known him intimately I know what versatile talents he had. It is a sad thought that such a son of India should have died in the prime of life. I congratulate Vijayalaxmi on giving to India and the world her husband's last labour of love.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

295. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

October 19, 1944

CHI. DINSHAW,

I have your letter. I am dictating this to Kanu for fear that my handwriting may not be legible.

I enclose the name and address of the nature-cure specialist in Andhra. I shall have a list prepared of other names and addresses for you.

With regard to Kamubehn my advice is that if she says she is not able to pay, we should leave it to her. I understand that she depends on the income of her husband. It seems her father too is in reduced circumstances. I cannot say for certain. Ardeshir[1] must be growing up. He should become an embodiment of nature in every way.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

296. LETTER TO UMIA AGRAWAL

SEVAGRAM,
October 22, 1944

CHI. UMIA,

Why do you reprimand me ? I wanted to give you a good husband. Have I not given you one ? I can arrange for divorce if you do not like him. There are always ups and downs in life. They temper us. You will make me feel ashamed by feeling defeated like that. You will hurt the spirit of Jamnalalji and also make Jaya feel ashamed. Why are you becoming a coward ? I have imagined you to be brave. May the New Year be fruitful to both of you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Addressee's son

297. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
October 23, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I gather from Dilip's letter to Swami that your health has deteriorated once again. It says you have had influenza and so forth. What is this ? Why has it happened ? I want detailed information. If you cannot write, let Dilip do so. I am deeply immersed in work.

Dilip must be quiet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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298. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
October 24, 1944

DEAR RAJAJI,

Herewith is a letter from Shri Joseph Victoria, a leper. Can you do anything for this unfortunate ?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
48 BAZLULLAH ROAD
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

299. NOTE TO SWAMI ANANDANAND

[Before *October 29, 1944*][1]

The tussle you had with Thakkar Bapa[2] concerning the official work of the Kasturba Smarak Nidhi involved a matter of principle. There was nothing personal about it.

As a public worker and colleague, your attitude cannot be called objectionable. Your protest was within the limits of discipline and was expressed in private.

Bapa levelled charges against you out of desperation. You had and still have a right to ask from him a fair deal. If you do ask for it, I shall grant it to you.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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300. LETTER TO SWAMI ANANDANAND

Sunday, 9.15 p.m. [On or before *October 29, 1944*][3]

BHAI SWAMI,

I have not forgotten my promise to you. I have been able to draft the letter only today. I have not talked to Bapa, because my letter as usual, should have your approval. If you do not like this draft, you may make one yourself which I can then place before Bapa. If he refuses to sign it, I am willing to look into your complaint.

Blessings from

BAPU

[Draft]

Bapu tells me that you insist on an open enquiry concerning my attitude towards you, or a letter of apology from me. I know that I am quick-tempered. I have no complaints about your work. but I hold that even though you are my co-secretary, you are still under my control. Such being my position, whenever you have opposed me, I have become impatient and lost my temper. I know I ought not to lose my temper. But I am an ordinary human being. You should forgive me. I hope you will. You are free to publish this letter of apology whenever you wish.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Presumably written before the item that follows; *vide* also *fn*. 3.

[2] Amritlal V. Thakkar

[3] From the contents it appears that the letter was written before the addressee resigned from the Joint-Secretaryship of the Kasturba Memorial Trust on November 3, 1944; *vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p.269; also Vol. LXVII, pp. 402, 423 and 442. The Sunday before November 3 was on October 29, 1944.

301. LETTER TO RAMLAL VARMA

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
October 29, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of the 25th July has been lying in Gandhiji's file all this time. He is very sorry he could not reply to it earlier. He wanted to send you a helpful reply. I am now to say that he is very sorry he does not know what help he can render in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI RAMLAL VARMA
DAILY "TEJ"
SHRADDHANAND BAZAR
DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

302. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAK

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
November 1, 1944

DEAR SHRI PHATAK,

Shri A. V. Thakkar in a letter dated 16.10.1944 writes to me as follows :

"Bapu had transferred Rs. 2,000/- to Shri Haribhau Phatak for Harijan work. But no work seems to have been done so far. A lot of correspondence has been passing between Shri Phatak and Shri Barve of Dhulia, the President of the Maharashtra Sangh. The main point of contention seems to be that Shri Phatak would not agree to realize Rs. 3/- or Re. 1/- from the Members of the Committee as required by the Constitution of the Sangh."

Gandhiji has desired me to draw your attention to it. A line in reply will oblige.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI HARIBHAU PHATAK
POONA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

303. LETTER TO NATINDRA NATH DAS

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
November 1, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of the 25th ult. for which he desires me to thank you.

You should seek guidance from Congress leaders. He is unable to advise.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI NATINDRA NATH DAS
CONTAI P.O.
MIDNAPORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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304. LETTER TO KODI NARASIMHAN

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
November 1, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 24th ult. for which he desires me to thank you.

He has never said to anyone that Communists as such should not be admitted to the Congress. So far as he knows no one who signs the Congress creed and pays 4 as. can be prevented from becoming a member.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI KODI NARASIMHAN
NANDYAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

305. A NOTE

November 3, 1944

It is very good but it does not touch me because I have not been able fully to devote my mind to it. The entire constructive programme is the end. Negative non-co-operation is meant to achieve that end. The example of Christian missionaries would not help because the way to realizing God as Truth is different. I cannot describe that way. If someone can see it in my life, let him do so. Here fasting is very important. Natural death comes even to animals and birds as it comes to us. If you feel like writing something after reading this, do so. Send this back to me.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

306. A NOTE[1]

November 6, 1944

The attempt is good. I can understand the argument. But how far can reason take you ? Hence even though I give due weight to reasoning, I depend on prayer. I act in the light of the answer I get through prayer. I shall be guided by God. It is a difficult task. I am not worried. There is no hurry at all. I continue working. I do not stop work fearing imminent death. Take my fast also in the same way. Do write to me if you can think of something more.

You have written in English. Could you not have conveyed it in Hindi or Gujarati ? You did well to have written to Shankerlal.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This is written on a communication in English from Gulzarilal Nanda.

307. LETTER TO K. VENKATARAMANI

SEVAGRAM,
November 9, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji had your letter of 31st October.

Gandhiji says you can come here whenever you like for your week's stay here. You will, of course, send previous intimation of your arrival.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI K. VENKATARAMANI
34 ALAMELUMANGAPURAM
MYLAPORE
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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308. LETTER TO DIWANCHAND OBHERAI

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA, C. P.,
November 10, 1944

DEAR OBHERAIJI,

I read out your letter of the 28th to Gandhiji.

He has decided nothing about the fast[1] yet but has simply put himself in God's hands. He won't undertake the fast unless he has a clear call. He cannot rule out fasting altogether as he holds it to be the ultimate and most potent weapon in the armoury of non-violence.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI DIWANCHAND OBHERAI
SENIOR ADVOCATE
PESHAWAR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 224-5.

309. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

SEVAGRAM,
November 10, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 31st ult. and desires me to thank you for the same.

He has decided nothing about the fast. He has only taken the public into confidence as to the working of his mind.

Could you kindly send the address of Maulvi Abdul Ghani though I doubt whether anything effective can be done from this end ?

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI DUNICHAND
7-A BEGUM ROAD
LAHORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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310. LETTER TO S. RADHAKRISHNAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 11, 1944

DEAR SIR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have your kind letter of 4th instant. Your amendment is too late for revision of the draft deed.[1] It has been passed by the Board. But there will be no difficulty if a village girl is ripe for being sent to foreign lands for gaining further knowledge of use in the villages.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

When may I write to you in Hindi ?

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BENARES

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The addressee, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University had suggested that funds of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust should not be spent on purposes which it was the duty of the Government to carry out; they should be utilized for the establishment of orphanages and pilgrim centres and for the selection of women to be sent to Russia and Japan to study rural uplift; *vide* also Vol. LXXVIII, p. 235.

311. LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY, KURNOOL DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 24th ult.

You should be guided by Shri A. Kaleswara Rao who is at present here and will be soon returning to Andhra Pradesh after his talks with Gandhiji.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

THE GENERAL SECRETARY
KURNOOL DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
NANDYAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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312. LETTER TO R. S. DESHPANDE

SEVAGRAM,
November 16, 1944

DEAR PROF. DESHPANDE,

Apart from the fact that I have no time, the books have been transferred to the late Jamnalalji's daughter for whom Prof. Kalelkar had meant them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI R. S. DESHPANDE
POONA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

313. LETTER TO L. RAJAGOPALA RAO

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

DEAR RAJAGOPALA RAO,

1. I have not excluded any stage of education. The question is purely one of finding the right type of workers.
2. This is answered. Of course the parents should be contented.
3. Your suggestion is sound. Co-ordination is being attempted.
4. This also, if worthy of consideration.
5. Do try. Don't expect me to do executive work. That is for young people like you to do.
6. I have doubts about the soundness of your suggestion. Your note is being circulated among the Heads of the Associations concerned.

I had a talk about you with Shri Kaleshwara Rao.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI L. RAJAGOPALA RAO
P. O. RAZOLE
EAST GODAVARI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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314. LETTER TO P. SUBBARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

DEAR DR. SUBBARAYAN,

I read out your letter of 14th inst. to Bapu.

You must have seen his reply to Rajaji's wire. He does not propose to make any public statement with regard to the Congress reorganization work as suggested by you. He has favoured the formation of *ad hoc* unions of Congress workers for carrying out normal Congress work. Don't you think that in these matters *ad hoc* committees should be free to frame their own rules and shape their policy according to local circumstances in the best possible manner they can ? This does not involve any constitutional point. All those who accept the policy and plan of work laid down by these bodies and abide by their discipline would of course be entitled to join these bodies.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

DR. P. SUBBARAYAN
WHITE'S GARDEN
ROYAPETTAH
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

315. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SEVAGRAM,
November 17, 1944

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I got the impression from your letter today that your work has got on the rails somewhat. S. is leaving today to see you and his friend Pyarelal who is also sick. He will give you further news. There is every chance of your full recovery if you withdraw your mind from all other worries.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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316. LETTER TO C. V. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SEVAGRAM,
November 21, 1944

DEAR SHRI RAJAGOPALACHARI,

I have your letter of the 18th inst. and also your pamphlet.

I hold the concluding paragraph of your last letter to be offensive. However, let me say briefly that when I wrote the article referred to by you, so far as I recall past events, I had not Rajaji's opinion in mind. My correction was a correlated reflection of my mind.

I have no place in the Congress for several years past. I never court publicity. A sense of duty compels me sometimes to write. I have no desire to enter into a public discussion about the matters raised by you.

Yours truly,

SHRI C. V. RAJAGOPALACHARI
BUCKINGHAMPET
BEZWADA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

317. LETTER TO T. N. AVINASHILINGAM

SEVAGRAM,
November 26, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji had your letter of 3rd November.

With regard to the Kulasekharapattanam rioting case he is of opinion that the appeal ought to be filed in the Privy Council. He wants to know what the probable costs would be and the extent of assistance that would be required.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI T. N. AVINASHILINGAM
13-A FEROZESHAH ROAD
NEW DELHI

[PS.]

I have just finished Ranga's thing.[1] I am taking up yours next without any further delay.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

318. LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
November 26, 1944

DEAR SISTER[2],

Bapu was very glad to have your letter of 3rd inst. He is sorry he cannot write to you himself as he has been forced to further curtail his work owing to overstrain. In fact he has almost reached the limit of his capacity and has had nature's warning signals which he cannot ignore.

He does not want to undertake a fast, but he is faced with a moral dilemma and he is praying to God for light. He will not undertake the fast unless he has the clearest indication that it is the will of God.

I hope you had a favourable response from the trustees of the Kasturba Memorial Fund with regard to your proposal about your school.

What you write about Ba is but too true.

You will certainly come whenever you feel like coming.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SISTER MARIA
SEVA MANDIR
PROTO NOVO

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 246, *fn*. 1.

[2] The addressee, a former member of the Danish Mission, had founded an ashram – a school for girls – at Porto Novo.

319. LETTER TO IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

SEVAGRAM,
November 28, 1944

DEAR MIAN SAHIB,

Bapu was glad to have yours and Mrs. Iftikhar's letters. He is too tired to write to all those whom he would like to write. He desires me to thank you both for your kind sentiments.

So far as the fast is concerned, he says he won't undertake it unless there is a clear call.

How is your health now ? I hope this will find you fully restored.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

MIAN IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN
21 AIKMAN ROAD
LAHORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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320. TELEGRAM TO RASHID KHAN

December 2, 1944

RASHID KHAN
MUSLIM LEAGUE
KUMBAKONAM

YOUR TELEGRAM. BEST WISHES.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

321. LETTER TO G. V. GOKAL

December 6, 1944

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your letter of the 13th ult. and the remittance of £ 1,000/- which you have sent.

You must have seen from the papers that owing to health reasons he has taken four weeks' complete holiday from all work. I regret, therefore, that he cannot write to you himself.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI G. V. GOKAL
MESSRS. V. GOKAL & CO.
47 MARKET STREET
JOHANNESBURG
SOUTH AFRICA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

322. LETTER TO SHYAMLAL

SEVAGRAM,
December 11, 1944

DEAR SHYAMLALJI,

I have your letter of 2nd inst. and the enclosures.

As desired by Bapu I have written to Dr. Dharam Prakash to send his accounts, as he had offered to. His reply is being awaited. Bapu would get the accounts scrutinized when they arrive.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI SHYAMLALJI
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
[CAMP] KINGSWAY
DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

323. LETTER TO S. H. PANDIT

[After *January 9, 1945*][1]

Gandhiji is grateful for your assurances and your reminding him of old acquaintances. He is glad to hear of your work and he will read the report when it comes, and let you know if anything worthwhile strikes him to add.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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324. NOTE TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

[After *January 9, 1945*][2]

Write to him a nice letter : 'Gandhi will be only too pleased to meet you whenever you can come. His health is improving.'

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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325. LETTER TO T. S. S. RAJAN

January 10, 1945

DEAR DR. RAJAN,

On my return from Bombay on the 1st inst. I read out your letter of 15-12-'44 to Bapu.

With regard to the action you have taken about the Bharadwaja Ashram, I am to say that you have Bapu's approval.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

DR. T. S. S. RAJAN
TRICHINOPOLY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This reply by Pyarelal was in response to the addressee's letter of January 9, 1945, wherein recalling his acquaintance with Gandhiji, he gave him his assurance regarding the eye-treatment of Parnerkar's mother.

[2] The note is written on a sheet bearing a letter dated January 9, 1945 from John Sargent to the addressee.

326. NOTE TO H. C. DASAPPA[1]

SEVAGRAM,
January 17, 1945

1. As for my coming, I would love to go to Mysore. But there has been so much tyranny everywhere that I shirk going anywhere for health. I have made an exception in favour of Panchgani for it is so near Bombay and especially Poona. But I want to avoid even Panchgani if I can. Thus if I do not go to Mysore or anywhere else you know why.
2. As to the election I am not enamoured of them. The more you avoid them the better. The more you silently follow the constructive programme the nearer you are to swaraj. But after all I have said, you must follow your own mind. You may weigh, if you like all I say. But my saying should never replace your mind.
3. As to Yashodara[2] she should stay till cured and till she has good command over Hindi. She should not hurry. Ramdas[3] of course is a fixture. As to Dr. M[ahmud], you have done your part; you need not worry now.

I have given you my mental state. Now let us leave it to fate. I shall not pull.

About the Maharaja you should make no overtures but of course you should lose no opportunity of seeing him, if he will see you.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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327. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

January 18, 1945

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have an unfinished part of your letter of November 4, 1944. The other part cannot be had.

From your letter I gather that you are correctly reported. And that is, in my opinion, damaging.[4]

I do not recall your previous letter or letters. But there was no intentional negligence. In any event I never said anything against you publicly. On the contrary, on suspicion arising, my first approach was to you. But if you think that it was unnecessary for you even to refer to me before attacking me, of course I have nothing to say.

---

[1] Dasappa; President, Mysore Congress Commitee, had met Gandhiji and invited him to spend the summer in Mysore State.

[2] & [3] Addressee's wife and son

[4] *Vide* pp. 164-5.

Love to you all.

BHAI

H. S. L. POLAK, ESQ.
11 HARTFIELD ROAD
LONDON S.W. 19

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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328. LETTER TO JEHANGIR PATEL

January 20, 1945

DEAR JEHANGIRJI,

Bapu had your letter of 11th inst. He is glad you enjoyed the charming scenery and climate of Ooty.

Thanks for the honey and the eucalyptus which you have sent. The parcel was received yesterday.

Bapu was very sorry to hear about the demise of Zubair's wife. He hopes Zubair will take the bereavement bravely. So called adversities are sent to us to test our faith. Is not life itself a discipline and a probation ?

Bapu is very much on the mend as you guess. The illness is all gone. The weakness is still there but he is slowly regaining lost strength and the whole day silence is serving as his strong shield. Without it one wonders how he would have fared.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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329. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEVAGRAM,
January 21, 1945

DEAR,

Bapu had your letter of 18th inst. He has also received the typescript of the *Practice and Precepts of Jesus* and will certainly go through it.[1] For the rest, more when the prodigal returns.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

PROF. J. C. KUMARAPPA
C/O SHOORJI VALLABHDAS
CUTCH CASTLE
SANDHURST BRIDGE
GIRGAON, BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, p. 62.

330. LETTER TO M. NARAYANAN

January 26, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 19th inst. You should see the two letters he has written to Shri Sivashanmugam Pillai, copies of which are enclosed herewith.[1]

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

Encls : 2
SHRI M. NARAYANAN
NUNGAMBAKKAM UNITED CLUB
15 NUNGAMBAKKAM HIGH ROAD
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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331. LETTER TO JAGJIVAN RAM

SEVAGRAM,
January 28, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 22nd inst.

Gandhiji says you can come and see him at your convenience. But you should know that he maintains silence during daytime these days. You will please send intimation of your arrival in advance.

Regarding Gandhiji's correspondence with Shri Sivashanmugam Pillai of Madras, it will be necessary to obtain his permission first as his letters were marked personal.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM
KADAM KUAN
PATNA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 151 and Vol. LXXIX, p. 50.

332. LETTER TO J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI

SEVAGRAM,
January 29, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Some Harijan M.L.A.s in Bihar have asked Gandhiji for copies of the correspondence you had with him.[1] Gandhiji would like to know whether you have any objection to the copies in question being supplied to them. It was necessary to ask for this formal permission because one of your letters is marked personal.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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333. NOTE TO BHULABHAI DESAI[2]

[January 1945][3]

BHULABHAI DESAI,

I understand that the steps would be somewhat as follows :

The League agrees with us as to the composition of the interim Government at the Centre. (The agreed nominees will be responsible to the elected legislature.)

The League agrees that if the proposal is accepted by the G[overnor] G[eneral] the first step to be taken by the new Government will be to release the Working Committee.

On this being done, the G. G. will be requested to accept the composition agreed upon (with the addition of members representing the elected parties or elements).

On the G.G. agreeing, an interim Government would be formed and when the Working Commitee is thereafter released, you will be good enough to tell them that this step was taken with your approval.

---

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] (1877-1946); Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly; President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee; Member, Congress Working Committee

[3] Bhulabhai Desai initiated the move for a Congress-League coalition at the Centre in early January 1945; *vide* Vol. LXXIX, pp. 10-11 and ff. and Appendix I.

QUESTION : Is the agreement of the League to release the Working Committee as the first step of the new provisional Government (preliminary) proof of their *bona fides* ?

ANSWER : Yes.

Q : If the new provisional Government is formed while the Working Committee is still in detention and if the new Government releases them, why do you see danger in the way of a permanent solution of the Hindu-Muslim question ?

A : The danger lies with the Quaid-e-Azam being equivocal and two-faced.[1]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

334. LETTER TO MAULANA SULEMAN NADVI

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA,
February 13, 1945

BHAI SAHEB,

A Conference of Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be held on February 26 and 27.[2] I should like you to attend it and make your contribution towards finding a solution to the problem. I hope you will come. Inform me about the time and date of your arrival.

M. K. GANDHI

MAULANA SULEMAN NADAVI
SHIBLI MANZIL
AZAMGADH (U.P.)

From a photostat of the Urdu : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

335. LETTER TO SIBTE HASAN

SEVAGRAM,
"VIA" WARDHA (C.P.),
February 15, 1945

BHAI SIBTE HASAN,

I have your letter. I just cannot attend the Anjuman[3]. I cannot promote exclusively either Urdu or Hindi. I want both the languages to develop. But I certainly want that both should blend together. I hope you have understood my viewpoint.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Urdu : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXX, p. 295.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, pp. 170-71, 176-80.

[3] Presumably, Anjuman Taraqqui-e-Urdu

336. NOTE FOR ANJANA CHAUDHARY

[After *February 15, 1945*][1]

Write to her that Ram Narayan should make a confession in writing, exactly describing his role. If doing so invites greater punishment, he should accept it. That will be his atonement. But he should do it only if it is acceptable to his mind and heart.

Notwithstanding what is said above, if there is any legal loophole and he can be acquitted, he should take the opportunity. In his statement he should say that the statement is by way of atonement. If there is a legal escape, he will cretainly be freed. The Government will not misinterpret his statement. Ram Narayan's confession should not be taken to mean that because he admits his offence he should be detained or given stricter punishment. This cannot be done, at least legally.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

337. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

February 16, 1945

CHI. MRIDULA,

Since I have nothing to say now, I wish to take advantage of the freedom I have secured. Tomorrow we shall be meeting at Sevagram, shan't we ? My presence in Durgabehn's room between 3 and 4-30 should be sufficient . But if Bapa and others wish something else, please let me know. The Mandal can meet for a longer time and carry on routine business.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11231. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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[1] The addressee in her letter dated Fabruary 5, 1945, had mentioned that her husband, Ram Narayan Chaudhary, had in 1942 advised a student that sabotage activities would be in conformity with non-violence and had now discovered, after Gandhiji's clarification of the matter, that he was mistaken. He was anxious to atone for the mistake.

338. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN

SEVAGRAM,
February 16, 1945

BHAI LAKSHMI BABU,

We cannot accept even one of the three conditions even though we concede that the speech was provocative. The constructive programme of today has nothing to do with any movement such as that of 1942. Even if we are opposed to the violent activities of Shri Jayaprakash, we cannot accept any of the three conditions. In other words, we shall not get those things done by coercion. If freedom of India is common cause between us and the Government, why this discrimination ? The truth of the matter is that the Bihar government has committed a mistake in arresting people[1] and instead of admitting the mistake, it wants to throw the responsibility on us. We shall not accept that responsibility even if they destroy us. Even if they seek to prevent us from carrying on our peaceful work, we shall march ahead.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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339. TALK WITH DEVDAS GANDHI[2]

SEVAGRAM,
February 20, 1945

I told Bapu that Sjt. Bhulabhai has received his letter regarding consultations with the Working Committee members. I drew his attention to the fact that the above was there in his Gujarati draft, but was not there in Bhulabhai's latest English draft. Bapu said that the Gujarati draft only could be considered correct because the English version followed as an explanatory one.

However Bapu's independent opinion was that to meet and consult the Working Committee should be considered as an inevitable condition to act upon.

QUESTION : But if the new government releases the Working Committee immediately and at that time if the Working Committee is free to give its independent opinion, and at present as prisoners if they don't give any opinion, will it not be more beneficial ?

ANSWER : No. In that case Bhulabhai will not be able to carry public opinion with him. And also it will not be fair to the Working Committee.

Q. If it is possible to meet the Working Committee, will you accompany Bhulabhai or not ?

A. If Bhulabhai wishes so, I am prepared to go with him.

---

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, pp. 129-32.

[2] As reported by Devdas, Gandhiji's fourth and youngest son

Q. Will you try to persuade the Working Committee to accept this plan ?

A. Yes.

Q. What are your arguments in favour of this plan ?

A. If the League is prepared to work together with the Congress in any way it is desirable. Afer the Bombay talks, Jinnah has told many people that Gandhi did not even mention about the interim government. Bhulabhai's efforts are in themselves a reply to him. But if the intentions of the League are not genuine, nothing will come out. I am surprised at the statement of Jinnah and Liaquat Khan. In case Liaquat Khan has not even asked Jinnah, then it is a question how far we can rely on Liaquat's talks. Arrests have again started and that is a bad sign. Now Bhulabhai must talk in a firm tone and tell the Viceroy that this will not do.

Q. Do we keep aside the question of the Viceroy's veto ?

A. Bhulabhai says that it is a question of procedure and I have accepted it. However, it means that the Government will not act with Viceroy's veto against the vote of the Assembly.

Q. But if the Viceroy uses his veto and function ?

A. In that case there will be an understanding between Bhulabhai and Liaquat that the Govrnment will resign. Even now this fact must be made perfectly clear between them.

Q. On the basis of 4-4-2 will you even include the nationalist Muslims amongst the four of the Congress ?

A. No. But Bhulabhai should tell Liaquat that amongst his four he should take nationalist Muslims.

Q. Hindu Mahasabha ?

A. Viceroy will create Hindu Mahasabha and other such parties. But we are not accepting them. There are only two parties – Congress and League. Sikhs and Harijans, we have accepted as a concession.

Q. Can we include persons like Shyamaprasad Mukherji amongst the four ?

A. If Bhulabhai wants to take them, then I would not raise any objection.

Q. If previous consultation with the Working Committee which is in jail is essential, then why should not the Working Committee members in jail form the Government ?

A. That time has not yet come. At present the talk is only limited to Assembly members.

Q. But what about the Whites ?

A. The White, black, all – only those who are appointed by the Congress and League can come, except the Commander-in-Chief. Others will be responsible to them.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

340. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

WARDHA,
February 23, 1945

CHI. NARAHARI,

I understand about Anand Hingorani. I think he is a very straightforward man. He will write anything you say. He will do what we say. I have known him from his childhood. He has also worked for *Young India.*

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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341. LETTER TO GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR

SEVAGRAM,
March 5, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to hear from you. I entirely agree with you regarding the States. As to foreign rule, I could not open the subject with Q.A. Jinnah. He has excluded the States from his calculation. You have not expected me to give any thought to the rest of your scheme. For my opinion is that when the whole of foreign rule goes from the whole of India, then only we shall be free to think with a true sense of responsibility.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR
WINDSOR PLACE
NEW DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

342. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN

SEVAGRAM,
March 7, 1945

DEAR SISTER[1],

Khurshedbehn is there. She has got disgusted with my contacts with women. And I hear so is N.behn. Is not the same true of you other two ? If so, why not discuss the whole thing with me ? There is quite a storm here. I am contemplating a statement. I do not know whether it will see the light of day.

Do write me fearlessly. I have no repentance of what I have done. Hope you are well.

Love.

BAPU

GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN
ANDHERI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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343. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

SEVAGRAM, "VIA" WARDHA,
March 7, 1945

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. I learnt about the sad fate of the letter. So long as the kitchen is in your charge, what can be wanting ? You should definitely pass the very first examination. Little Baba must have recovered. How can you be spared from nursing him ? I intend reaching there in the beginning of April. Stay with me when I am there.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI LILAVATIBEHN UDESHI
G. S. MEDICAL COLLEGE
LADIES STUDENTS' HOSTEL
BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This is in Gujarati.

344. NOTE TO STUDENTS[1]

[After *March 8, 1945*][2]

BROTHERS,

I am shocked by your writing to me in English. Why do you not write in Hindustani ? I have clearly expressed my opinion. Everyone must decide whether or not to act according to it. I suggest you form your own opinion.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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345. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

March 12, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

You are prefectly entitled to come to me and understand my action. You need not come immediately. Come whenever you can and take my time. It is true that I am fed up. It is not any more necessary that things should be explained to the public at large in the way it can understand. But I am not applying this to you. Yashodhara is very sensible. She could have asked me. But it is amazing how hesitant women are. I shall not issue my statement right now. I have a telegram from Mathuradas. I made my decision only on that basis. Now I have your letter. So the matter is ended. The sin or merit of the postponement will be divided between you two. If it is merit, would I also not have my share ? From my point of view, I have done nothing wrong. When I come to know, I shall proclaim it from the house-tops. Do not be upset. I am what I have always been.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W.11236. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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[1] Of Lucknow University

[2] The letter to which this is an answer is dated March 8.

346. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI[1]

SEVAGRAM,
March 17, 1945

MY DEAR BARDOLOI,

Why have you sent a friend all the way from Assam when you have my advice in your pocket ? I repeat – do what you think is best cost what it may. Kill the corruption. Adopt that alternative which is best under the circumstances. Keep all clean men and parties together. I know the difficulties will be many but to cut our way through them makes us.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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347. LETTER TO ANNIE MASCARENE

SEVAGRAM,
March 18, 1945

DEAR MASCARENE,

I remember you showed me Sir M. Ismail's[2] letter in which he asserted that you had never spoken ill of anyone behind his back.

As to the 2nd question I can give no opinion. I do not profess to understand Travancore politics. You should do what you think is best.

Yours,
BAPU

MISS A. MASCARENE
STATE CONGRESS OFFICE
TRIVANDRUM

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] A summary of this letter appears in Vol. LXXIX, p. 289.

[2] Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore

348. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN

SEVAGRAM,
March 19, 1945

DEAR SISTER[1],

Your dear letter. I must try to give you an hour when you are here. I used the word with due cause. But I had a repudiation from both quarters. It gladdened me.

Love.

BAPU

GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN
ANDHERI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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349. NOTE TO KAZI NIZAMUDDIN AHMED

[After *March 19, 1945*][2]

Write a postcard as follows :[3]

Why should you write to me in English ? The jaggery was received after I had left Sevagram. Why has Sultana[4] not written to me so far ? I hope she is in good health. Write to her that she should write to me regularly. She may write at Sevagram.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

[1] This is in Gujarati.

[2] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated March 19, 1945.

[3] This is in Gujarati.

[4] Addressee's grand-daughter

350. LETTER TO N. R. JOSHI

SEVAGRAM,
March 26, 1945

MY DEAR JOSHI,

Have I not helped ? I have the thing still in mind. I may fail to do more. If I do, it won't be for want of effort. Please give my love to them.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI N. R. JOSHI
ALLAHABAD AGRI. INSTITUTE
ALLAHABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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351. LETTER TO UTTAMCHAND GANGARAM

SEVAGRAM,
March 27, 1945

MY DEAR UTTAMCHAND,

Here is the answer to your puzzle.[1] It is from one who is familiar with a billiards table.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI UTTAMCHAND GANGARAM
HYDERABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, p. 302.

352. DRAFT OF POWER-OF-ATTORNEY

April 1, 1945

To all to whom these presents shall come, we Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Lady Premlila Vithaldas Thackersey, Kanhaiyalal Manecklal Munshi, Devdas Gandhi, Ghanshyamdas Birla, Chakravarti C. Rajagopalachariar, Jehangir R. D. Tata, Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Amritlal Vithaldas Thakkar, Shantikumar Narottam Morarjee, Ambalal Sarabhai, Jankidevi Bajaj, Ashadevi Aryanayakum, Miss Mridula Sarabhai, Miss Raihana Tyabji, Mrs. Gosibehn Captain, Mangaldas Manchram Pakvasa, Ganesh Vasudeo Mavalankar, Shri Krishna Das Mulchand Jaju, Babu Lakshminarayan of Patna, and Gulzarilal Nanda, the present trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust hereinafter referred to as the Trustees send greetings whereas by a Deed of Settlement dated the 1st day of April 1945 made between the said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi of the One Part and the Trustees of the Other Part, the Trustees are appointed Trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust (hereinafter for brevity's sake called "The Trust") AND WHEREAS in the Court of administration and management of "The Trust", the Trustees will be required to deal with immoveable and moveable properties and for such purposes will have to execute documents some of which may also require registration and whereas it is not convenient for the Trustees to go to different places where documents are to be executed and/or registered and to present the same for registration and/or admit execution of the documents that may be executed by us as such trustees of the 'Trust' from time to time and attend before any Registrar or Sub-Registrar as the case may be for the purpose aforesaid, we are desirous of appointing Mangaldas Pakvasa, Shantikumar Narottam Morarjee and Shyamlalji, hereinafter called the attorneys to be the true and lawful attorneys on our behalf as also on behalf of any one or more of us, to do all or any of the following acts deeds and things : NOW KNOW YE AND THESE PRESENT WITNESS that we, the Trustees of the said Trust do hereby nominate, constitute the said Mangaldas Pakvasa, Shantikumar Narottam Morarjee and Shyamlalji jointly and severally, i.e., any one of them to be our attorneys for us and in our name to do the following acts and things.

1. To execute for and/or on behalf of the Trustees such documents as they may resolve upon to execute and/or to appear before the Registrar or Sub-Registrar of Assurances and present and/or admit execution of any document or documents or writing that may be or may have been signed or executed by us or any one or more of us or to which we or anyone or more of us may be any parties or party as such Trustees of the 'Trust' and to do all things that may be required or found necessary for procuring the registration thereof as the attorney or attorneys shall think necessary.

2. For the better doing, performing and executing of the matters and things aforesaid we hereby further grant unto the said attorneys authority to substitute and appoint in his/their place and stead one or more attorney or attorneys to exercise for ourselves as our attorneys or attorney any or all the powers and authorities hereby conferred and to revoke any such appointment from time to time and to substitute or appoint any other or others in the place of such attorney or attorneys as they the said attorneys shall from time to time think fit.

3. We hereby undertake to ratify whatsoever the attorneys or any of them or any substitute or substitutes shall lawfully do or cause to be done in the premises and to indemnify them and each of them against all costs and expenses properly incurred by them or any of them hereunder.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtsy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

353. LETTER TO K. G. GOKHALE

[After *April 2, 1945*][1]

I had discussed your case with Baba Saheb Kher before your letter came. He will write to you. As for khadi, can one of your relatives not spin a little for you ? If no one is available, write to your branch. Khadi should be made available in a case like this.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated April 2, 1945.

354. LETTER TO KERUM NATH BHATT

April 7, 1945

You should follow in your own practice as many of the 15 points of the Constructive Programme as you can and inspire others to do the same. In business you should give first place to service. Give up profiteering. Never abandon truth and rectitude. Promote the charkha, service of the Harijans, use of items of village industries and show love, respect and generosity towards votaries of other faiths.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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355. LETTER TO MIAN IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN

April 20, 1945

DEAR MIAN SAHEB,

I had your letter of 14th inst. I showed it to Gandhiji.

He is of opinion that under the circumstances you describe you should behave and act as if no restriction notice had ever been served on you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

MIAN IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN
21 AIKMAN ROAD
LAHORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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356. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY,
April 20, 1945

CHI. MRIDULA,

I did write the preface for Tandon. Later there was a complaint about his behaviour at Swaraj Bhavan, and that dampened me somewhat. But I have not abandoned the thing. Now you will throw more light on the matter.

You will certainly come to Mahabaleshwar.

Look after your health. It would be good if you do not work beyond your capacity.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11237. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

357. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 23, 1945

CHI. LILI,

I have your letter. What can I do when you refuse to understand ? When a person is superfluous he is certainly noticed. I cannot have you along as a patient. Why then should I have you at Mahabaleshwar ? There was a reason for sending you to hospital. You say I am everything to you, yet you are unable to understand me. One would surely understand the person one regarded both as mother and father. One would not argue with him. Whatever he said would go straight to one's heart. But what can I do when you remain untouched even after persuasion ? What kind of a person are you that you hesitate to go to Shantikumar's[1] place ? How much he does for you !

Wake up from your slumber !

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

358. LETTER TO M. S. KELKAR

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 26, 1945

DEAR DR. ICE[2],

Why are you so stingy about your paper ? I like economy but dislike stinginess. You crowd in your words. You must leave some space at the top and on the sides.

Dr. Sushila Nayyar says Hiralakshmi had no pleurisy. Her disease is simply T. B.

---

[1] Shantikumar N. Morarjee

[2] Gandhiji had given this name to the addressee on account of his enthusiasm for ice-treatment.

It is a great pity if the distilling machine has gone bad. I hope it is capable of being repaired. What about your own ? What will be the cost of a new one ?

Dr. S. says it can be simply done by the mechanic in the Ashram.

Why must you continue to write to me in English ? If you cannot write in Hindustani, you may write in Marathi.

If you have leisure you should concentrate on the other patients. Balwant Singh has better use for his time than learning English. He can have all he needs about vet[1] from Marathi Literature.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

359. LETTER TO TAN YUN-SHAN[2]

MAHABALESHWAR,
April 29, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I long for the real friendship between China and India based not on economics or politics but on irresistible attraction. Then will follow real brotherhood of man.

This is the message in answer to yours of 5th inst.

You must learn Hindustani. You have been long enough in India. May I write to you henceforth in Hindustani, since I can't write in Chinese ?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PROF. TAN YUN-SHAN
SANTINIKETAN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Sic*

[2] The addressee had come to India at the invitation of Rabindranath Tagore and organised the Department of Sino-Indian Studies in the Vishwabharati University and later the Sino-Indian Cultural Society.

360. LETTER TO SAILENDRANATH CHATTERJEE

MAHABALESHWAR,
[April-May 1945][1]

CHI. SAILEN,

It pains me to know that your health has deteriorated. I suggest that you go and stay at the Ashram to improve your health and afterwards engage yourself in work. Take Manubhai's[2] treatment. You should not have any difficulty in getting sick leave.

From a photostat of the Hindi. C. W. 10335. Courtesy : Amrit Lal Chatterjee

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361. LETTER TO DR. B. R. CHUGH[3]

May 2, 1945

G[andhiji] says he started the course only yesterday. It will last at least for 10 days. After that it will be better to let the climate do its work. It seems to agree with him so far. The present course deals only with amœbic-hookworm. The tremor of the hands and general weakness will still require attention unless the climate does all these things. The best time to test your treatment will be after G.'s descent to the plains.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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362. NOTE TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 2, 1945

Why should Rameshwaribehn write in English ?

To the extent possible all business should be transacted in the national language. Rameshwaribehn should write about father only in the national language. The entire biography should be written in the national language – it may well be translated into English later.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Gandhiji was at Mahabaleshwar from April 21 to May 31, 1945; *vide* also Vols. LXXIX and LXXX.

[2] Dr. Manshankar J. Trivedi

[3] This was in reply to Dr. B. R. Chugh's letter of April 30, 1945; *vide* also Vol. LXXX, pp. 98-9 and 114.

363. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

May 7, 1945

CHI. NARAHARI,

Consult me before writing anything in this matter.

BAPU

[PS.]

Is this Mastram's son ? I do not know him at all. Mastram is Nanabhai's friend. He has betrayed Nanabhai. Nanabhai told me that. Now Mastram also must be involved in this. In that case it seems to me that nothing should be written to him.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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364. TELEGRAM TO NIRMALANANDA

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 8, 1945

NIRMALANANDA
CARE APPLIANCE
BOMBAY

COME SEVAGRAM WHEN I REACH THERE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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365. LETTER TO O. M. THOMAS

"MORARJI CASTLE",
MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Your registered letter of the 8th inst. to Gandhiji has been received today. Your previous letter also was received. Here are answers to your questions.

1. Gandhiji has no recollection of having read the book[1] referred to by you.
2. Impossible to say anything at this distance of time.

---

[1] *After Mother India* by Harry H. Field

3. The reply is in the negative so far as my recollection goes, but you can look up the files of *Young India*.

4. Please send an authentic copy of Mrs. Annette Helen Doharty's affidavit referred to by you. On the face of it, it seems to be a malicious invention.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI O. M. THOMAS
20 ELGIN ROAD
ALLAHABAD

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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366. LETTER TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 14, 1945

DEAR SIR TEJ,

I was going to write to you in Hindustani but for this letter at least I restrain myself. For the future I shall do as you will bid.

I had thought that Dr. Jayakar and Kumar Saheb had come to me on your behalf and at your instance. Rajaji told me otherwise. Hence this note, though belated.

I considered the whole of your report as sketched to me to be an able document. But I did not interest myself in the whole of it. My interest was naturally confined to the communal question and it was wholly satisfactory. I hope you do not want me to express any opinion on the rest.

You have, and that at your age, laboured at the report and laboured with your colleagues as few men would have done. Rajaji has told me much about this part of your valuable work. And in Santanam you have an able and painstaking secretary.

Hope you are keeping well and that your ailing son has recovered completely.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

THE RT. HON. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

367. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

May 14, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

Your expected letter has come. I abide by what I wrote about Manu in the morning. She and the sisters should do what they think fit.

It hurts me that Shyamlal's affairs are disorganized. You would not have told him about it and I do not want to say that he should use your name. I am watching the developments. Enough if you take care of your first division. That would be the best education you could give to others.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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368. *LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR*

May 14, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

I hope all your work is going on well and bringing you credit. It would be only proper that the sisters hear everything and do whatever they want after due consideration. Every place has advantages as well as disadvantages. It is possible that Manu will not be able to get rid of her fear just by being told to do so. It seems to be an ingrained trait. If she recovers fully it will be a great achievement for us. I take it that you will be coming back on the 16th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

369. LETTER TO FARID ANSARI

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 15, 1945

MY DEAR FARID,

I was glad to see your beautiful handwriting after a long time. It at once reminded me of the late Dr. Ansari[1].

You were bound to think of Ba and Mahadev. They have won. We have to plod. I am delighted that you are keeping well. My love to all.

Yours,
BAPU

FARID ANSARI SAHEB
PRISONER
FEROZEPUR JAIL
PUNJAB

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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370. NOTE TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

May 23, 1945

I had not read the last portion carefully. But I think I have grasped the purport of the whole thing. I do not propose to answer your points. This is what I advise : We must not spend so much time in preparing questions. We must take whatever work we can with ease and be patient with regard to the rest. You do not have to move only with me. I have provided you a great institution. Now it is for you to prove your worth. You must play the main part in winning over Bapa. I might be of help to you, but if you do not like what I do, or my method of doing it, it is difficult for me to say what you should do. Some words of yours have given me that impression. You do not like the Ashram and I have been constantly wondering how anyone who does not like the Ashram can like me. I blame myself for that. It is a case of my being liked but not my work. You alone must sit down at leisure and find a solution. But what is to be done when leisure is something you cannot afford ? How long must I go on writing like this ? A word to the wise should suffice.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11234. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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[1] Dr. M. A. Ansari

371. LETTER TO K. G. GOKHALE

May 23, 1945

I had your letter. Gandhiji says that you should do what Kher says. G. would not be able to collect the money. G. would not be able also to say whether Mr. Polak should or should not be detained. The whole matter should be left to Kher.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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372. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

"MORARJI CASTLE",
MAHABALESHWAR,
May 25, 1945

DEAR AMMAJAN,

I am herewith enclosing copy of an extract from Harry H. Field's book *After Mother India* which a correspondent[1] has sent to Bapu. On the face of it the whole thing seems to be a malicious invention. Bapu knows nothing about it. All the same, since you are mentioned in the extract he has asked me to refer the same to you.

Hoping you are well.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

SMT. SAROJINI NAIDU
HYDERABAD (DN.)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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373. DRAFT LETTER FOR CHAMPA R. MEHTA

May 28, 1945

Write to her as follows :

Maganbhai and others went yesterday. If they are willing to have an arbitrator, it does not mean that Gandhi will be the arbitrator. It is beyond his strength. He is willing to entrust the matter to a suitable arbitrator. Gandhiji advises that a case should be prepared for arbitration It will be no use your coming to Panchgani.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] O. M. Thomas; *vide* pp. 201-2.

374. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHASTRI

May 28, 1945

BHAI HIRALAL SHASTRI,

I have your letter.

I am not at all satisfied about Ratan Devi. She has only been exploited. You yourself should have given the reply. Ratan Devi must surely be regretting that she does not know English. What does it matter if the editor brings out an English paper ?[1]

Do not involve me in the politics there. I wish to remain aloof.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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375. LETTER TO A PUBLISHER

PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

DEAR SIR,

Gandhiji has read your letter of 28th ult. received only yesterday. He would like to know before deciding, what profits you make out of the publication mentioned by you and what you pay Prof. A. D. Yates.

Yours faithfully,
NARAHARI PARIKH

THE MANAGING DIRECTOR
KAPOOR BROS. LTD.
PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS
52 ANARKALI, LAHORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXX, pp. 101-2.

376. LETTER TO NAWAB OF CHHATARI

"DILKHUSH", PANCHGANI,
June 3, 1945

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

I thank you for your letter of 27th ult. and the communique dated 17th ultimo.

I have again heard from Pandit Vinayak Rao. He sends me a copy of his reply to the communique. I take it that you have seen that letter. I cannot help agreeing with the Pandit that mere dismissal of the "ring-leaders" does not meet the needs of the situation so far as the wanton action of the police is concerned. And why prosecution of certain volunteers instead of an inquiry suggested by him ? I would like you to give this matter your earnest and independent consideration, and adopt such action as would avoid a repetition of the incident complained of and give general satisfaction.

I would thank you to send me the cuttings of the British Indian press referred to by you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. H. NAWAB SAHEB OF CHHATARI
HYDERABAD (DN.)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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377. LETTER TO RAJARAM BHOLE

June 4, 1945

DEAR BHOLE,

Your P. C. Do come on 6th inst. at 4.00 p.m. I am silent during the day always. But it does not matter. You will speak and I shall answer in writing.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI R. R. BHOLE
PALLAZZO HOTEL
PANCHGANI

From the original : R. R. Bhole Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

378. LETTER TO HOWARD GOLDSTEIN

CAMP : "DILKHUSH",
PANCHGANI, INDIA,
June 4, 1945

DEAR FRIENDS,

Gandhiji has your cable.

He appreciates your desire to have him in America.[1] But you have seen how he could not come. He could not force himself on the Committee. He has not much faith in the value of more verbal talks. He is trying to forge the message of non-violence through his work in India. If he shows visible success here the world will get the message it needs. Therefore the conscientious objectors who are going to meet near Glendora would do well to closely study what he has been saying and doing in India. Particularly, they should study his writings preceding and after the 8th August, 1942-Resolution of the Congress. They reflect the working of a non-violent mind in the face of the greatest crisis in the world's history.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

MESSRS. HOWARD GOLDSTEIN
JOE GOODMAN AND OTTO GRIMM
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS' CAMP
NEAR GLENDORA
CALIFORNIA (USA)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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379. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

PANCHGANI,
June 7, 194[*5*][2]

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have your letter. I approve in every way your decision to resign as Secretary. But my approval rests on the condition that you will have fully understood my advice and acted in strict accordance with it. Man is not a lifeless machine, though he should work like a machine; he is a conscious being and while working as a machine he should work with faith and intelligence, that is to say, with his heart and his mind. Only then will he shine and succeed in his effort.

---

[1] The addressee had invited Gandhiji on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee to attend the San Francisco Conference which was to be held in Glendora in the suburbs of Los Angeles.

[2] The source has 1942. *Vide* however Vol. LXXX, p. 175, which deals with the same subject, Gandhiji did not visit Panchgani in that year.

I have read your statement. Now ease your mind of the burden. Do what you can and give what help and guidance you can while resting. If you do only that much, though you have ceased to be Secretary, the management will remain in your hands, for your experience and patience are your own and cannot be transferred to anybody. Those who wish may take them from you. Even if they do there will be no diminution of your possession. This is the meaning of the verse *purnamidam*[1].

I learnt the reason for your fast from your letter to Kanam. I see that you fasted for 36 hours as atonement. If that was so, I do not approve of the fast. At the same time I cannot say that it was wrong to fast. Therefore my. . . .[2]

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 10636

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380. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

June 7, 1945

CHI. LILI,

Should I pity your brother and sister-in-law or be angry with them ? What else can be the result when they cannot control their lust ? It is up to you to consider your duty in the matter. Any religion taught by others is mere tautology. As for me, I am not a learned person in any sense. May God help you, your brother and sister-in-law. May it be well with the boy.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. LILAVATI UDESHI
G. S. MEDICAL COLLEGE
LADIES HOSTEL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Ishopanishad*, Invocation

[2] The text is incomplete.

381. LETTER TO ATMARAM RAMCHANDANI

PANCHGANI,
June 8, 1945

BHAI ATMARAM,

Jairamdas has given me a cheque for Rs. 500/-. I shall use the amount for public work of some kind.

I hope that you will devote your time to constructive work as suggested by me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Atmaram Ramchandani Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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382. TELEGRAM TO SUKHDEV PRASAD

PANCHGANI,
June 9, 1945

SUKHDEV PRASAD
LALGANJ

ASK LOCAL LEADERS.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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383. TELEGRAM TO UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT

PANCHGANI,
June 13, 1945

UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT
232 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

INDIAN FREEDOM CAMPAIGN ONE FOR WORLDS ASIATIC NEGRO AND OTHER EXPLOITED RACES FREEDOM. VICTORY WEST FRONT AND IMPENDING VICTORY EAST EMPTY WITHOUT CENTRAL FACT INDIA'S FREEDOM. I CAN HOPE ONLY FOR VICTORY FOR THAT PARTY WHICH WORKS SINCERELY AND WHOLLY FOR THAT END.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

384. TELEGRAM TO PASHABHAI PATEL

June 16, 1945

PASHABHAI PATEL
CARE POWERFARM
BARODA

CAN NOW PAY SARDAR AGREES. BLESSINGS.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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385. MEMORANDA FOR TALKS WITH THE VICEROY

[Before *June 24, 1945*][1]

1. The fact that Congress and some of its organizations are still in jail acts as a piece of coercion to compel co-operation on part of Congress.
2. Principle of communalism being an evil cannot be extended beyond the life of the interim temporary Govt. [and] cannot be used as a precedent for the future and has no application in considering the services. Congress represents all parties and the people without distinction of class, caste or creed.
3. Number of non-Scheduled Hindus should not exceed that of Muslims drawn from all parties including Shias.
4. Implication of Provincial Coalitions
5. Recruitment of services and commitments
6. Method of appointment
7. Financial implications of defence
8. Indian army – its freedom
9. Indian States – Princes and people
10. External affairs Department
11. Commercial Safeguards.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Gandhiji met the Viceroy on June 24, 1945; for the Viceroy's note on his interview with Gandhiji, *vide* Vol. LXXX, Appendix VIII.

386. *LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD*

[After *June 24, 1945*][1]

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

It was by mere chance that Pyarelal happened to see you. But what you told him, if his report of the talk is accurate, is startling. The Working Committee has not given you the right or the permission to form a cabinet. You yourself told me that you could not do it without the Working Committee. That is my view too. That was why I had said that you should form a small committee with the assistance of the Working Committee, which could be given that right and then act through that committee or the Working Committee itself. Since you did not react favourably to either of the proposals, I can only conclude that I do not understand or do not know the stand of the Working Committee in the matter.[2] I understand from what Jamnalalji says that you are going to summon the Working Committee anyhow. I consider it improper. I would not wish you to be guilty of such a grave error at this juncture.

I do not know what you have done and how you could persuade the Viceroy. Even if you have committed yourself it is, in my view, your duty to inform him that a mistake has been committed. So much for the matter between you and the Working Committee.

Another thing I would like to tell you is that in anything you do, you should take with you the Congressmen who are present and you should put everything in writing.

The third is a personal matter. Ever since I first heard the Viceroy's proclamation[3], that is, while I was still at Panchgani, I have been shouting that the Congress cannot accept the principle of parity between Muslims and non-Harijan Hindus, an organization of Hindus alone. Even if I am the only one among crores to do so, I shall refuse to be a party to it. I do not care if the negotiations break down on this, for I know and believe that the moment you try to form a national government at the centre in this way you will be laying a wrong foundation.[4] In this respect I am neither a Hindu, nor belong to any other religion. I belong to all faiths or to none. I only walk in the way of God. I shall be very happy if you can lend me your co-operation in this matter. But if you cannot do it wholeheartedly then I would rather do without it. I shall keep you informed.

---

[1] From the contents it is evident that this was written during Gandhiji's stay at Simla where he had talks with the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, regarding constitutional negotiations. Gandhiji reached Simla to attend the Conference on June 24.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXX, p.343.

[3] Dated June 14, 1945; ibid., Appendix III.

[4] ibid., pp. 382 and 390.

I trust you are well and the climate here has not disagreed with you.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy : Pyarelal

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387. LETTER TO LORD SAMUEL

[After *July 2, 1945*][1]

DEAR LORD SAMUEL[2],

I have your letter of 2nd July. I am sorry that you are still unconvinced. The ground of your objections seems to be that whilst the Congress may sincerely wish to embrace all parties and is trying to do so, it has not yet been able to achieve it and that its ultimate achievement is problematical, while the taking of the delivery is to be immediate and certain. This objection again overlooks the very relevant fact to which I have twice drawn your attention, namely, that the Congress through its president has invited the Government to transfer full power to the League and ask it to form a truly national government, in which it would have the loyal co-operation of the Congress. This offer was reiterated at Simla. But I am sorry to have to say it was again turned down.

I still adhere to my statement that "there cannot be Swaraj without an understanding with the Muslims." My contention is and has been that the presence of the third party is the greatest stumbling-block in the way of this understanding. So long as one community in the country enjoys the power of vetoing all political progress there can be no reasonable settlement. In India this anomalous power is assured to the League by the British Government which supererogates to itself the right of arbitrating and holding the balance of power between the various communities. In the absence of an agreed solution, a just solution through impartial arbitration is held to be the only feasible alternative in civilized society, but in India the absence of an agreed solution is strangely held to be a justification for retention of power by an alien Government over a nation of 400 millions ! 'Quit India' can be the only reply to such a claim. It seems strange that you should see in this cry a manifestation of totalitarian spirit instead of the anguished despair of an enslaved people to be free from totalitarian foreign rule which has in the past demonstrably sabotaged all their efforts to achieve unity in order to be free and spurned their united and unanimous demands for political advance.

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated July 2, 1945.

[2] Herbert Louis Samuel, Liberal leader

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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388. *NOTE TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA*

[After *July 4, 1945*][1]

If I went to a village as a worker I would expect the villagers to fund my expenses and I would make it worth their while to do so. I began life thus.

From the original : Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

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389. *NOTE TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA*

[After *July 4, 1945*]

If the trustees are worthy of their trust that should be the basis. In fact it is. As Chairman I am conducting the trust in that fashion.

From the original : Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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[1] This note and the one following are scribbled on used envelopes postmarked July 4, 1945.

390. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

As at Sevagram,
Camp : "Manor Ville",
Simla West,
July 5, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has your letter of 21st June.

He is too busy with the Conference work to be able to write to you himself. He desires me to thank you for your kind message.[1] He appreciates and fully reciprocates the spirit behind it. He is bending all his energy to end the deadlock and you may rest assured that if the offer is cent per cent sincere it will be all well in the end.

Thanking you once again.

Yours sincerely,
Pyarelal

Carl Heath, Esq.
57 Manor Way
Guildford, Surrey

Fron a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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391. A NOTE

[After *July 5, 1945*][2]

Though herself a vegetarian, she[3] did not insist on it for others. Prayers she lived in and for. Therefore if I was a woman worker I would conduct[4] prayers for all religious-minded people and for all religions. Neither Christians nor Muslims nor others would be excluded.

From the original : Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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[1] The addressee had, on behalf of the India Conciliation Group, expressed the hope "that you will all seek . . . a just co-operation in this new effort at Simla."

[2] The first part of this is scribbled on a used envelope postmarked July 5, 1945.

[3] Presumably, Kasturba Gandhi

[4] What follows is continued on a separate bit of a used envelope.

392. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

[After *July 5, 1945*][1]

Different values undoubtedly. The way of life which Ba stood for is the way workers would live and thus present it to village women. I have imposed silence on myself today. I hope you do not mind it. But ask questions and I would answer.

From the original : Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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393. LETTER TO KARLIN CAPPER-JOHNSON

CAMP : "MANOR VILLE",
SIMLA WEST,
July 7, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji desires me to thank you for your letter of 18th June and the cable sent by you recently on the eve of the Wavell Conference.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

KARLIN CAPPER-JOHNSON, ESQ.
FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE
FRIENDS HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD
LONDON, N. W. I

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Scribbled on a used envelope postmarked July 5, 1945.

394. LETTER TO A. R. TIJARAYE

SEVAGRAM,
July 7, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of 22nd inst. to Gandhiji.

He notes what you say with regard to the Forward Bloc political prisoners in C. P. The question of the release of all the political prisoners is fully in his mind and he is tackling it in the way he knows.

Yours sincerely,
PYARELAL

SHRI A. R. TIJARAYE
TILAK VIDYALAYA
VILLAGE UPLIFT CENTRE
KOLAPARDI, POST MADAMENDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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395. LETTER TO BHULABHAI DESAI

"MANOR VILLE",
SIMLA,
July 10, 1945

BHAI BHULABHAI,

You had said you would be seeing Dr. Khan Saheb and you would then tell me how wrong he was in what he had said about your drinking. According to the Doctor you had not seen him till the day before yesterday. He himself tried to meet you but he could not find you.

A lady who heard about this said : "I am a witness to the fact that Bhulabhai drinks and associates with undesirable women. His drinking and going around in the company of undesirable women is known all over Simla."

Even if this is true, you can still stand on the Congress ticket. I was further told that at the meeting held at Maulana Saheb's residence you had crossed the limit of decency while presenting your case.

Even with regard to money, what you told me does not appear to be correct.

Even in writing this, my intention is to do good to you and the Congress. If you cannot cleanse yourself, you must consider all your talents as of no account.

Blessing from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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396. LETTER TO PYARELAL

July 28, 1945

CHI. PYARELAL,

Chi. K.'s point deserves consideration. I cannot swallow his explanation of the word विशिष्यते.

All I want to say is that the 12th Chapter (of the *Gita*) is not as easy to understand and to practise as you say. We can make anything simple and easy by distortion. Here it seems to say the opposite of what is said elsewhere. Here it seems to be getting increasingly simpler. Moreover, we cannot assign to words any meaning we like. However, if Vinoba accepts what you are saying, there is no harm in following it. I have accepted the gist suited to myself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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397. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEVAGRAM,
August 3, 1945

CHI. SUSHILA,

What sort of doctors do you have that you are so sick ? What medicines do they give ? And what is the result ? But what should I tell you ?

I made a mistake yesterday. I forgot about the two meetings of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Kasturba Nidhi. Hence I can leave here by the 19th at the earliest. I do not think it will be right to detain you there till then. It would be another matter if you had to remain there on account of your health. You will see the invitation to Simla along with this. Do you feel like going ? Whatever it is, you must get well.

I have written to Sardar at Ahmedabad.

Pushpa is here.

Pyarelal's letter is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

398. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SEVAGRAM,
August 3, 1945

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your note.

Kishorelal and Rajaji are writing to you. What then shall I write ? Not writing to you is as good as writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

399. LETTER TO EVAN JENKINS

SEVAGRAM,
August 4, 1945

DEAR SIR EVAN,

I wonder if it is possible to send this[1] in the Viceregal bag ?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR EVAN JENKINS
P. S. TO H. E.
VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Presumably the letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence of even date congratulating him on his appointment as Secretary of State for India; *vide* Vol. LXXXI, p. 69.

400. LETTER TO ACHYUT PATWARDHAN

SEVAGRAM,
August 12, 1945

BHAI ACHYUT,

All your papers are being sent. If something has been left out, do ask. It will be sent.

I trust you are in good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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401. TELEGRAM TO CHAMPA R. MEHTA

BOMBAY,
August 21, 1945

CHAMPABEHN RATILAL
CARE KANTILAL SOLANKI PLEADER
SARANGPUR CHAKLA
AHMEDABAD

MY APPROVAL SUPERFLUOUS. DOCTOR MEHTA[1] HAD BUILT BUNGALOW FOR ASHRAM WITH RIGHT TO HIMSELF TO OCCUPY DURING HIS LIFETIME. THE INTENTION DEED WITH HIM.[2] IF YOU ALL AGREE I CAN PERHAPS PERSUADE PROSPECTIVE BUYER CANCEL CONTRACT FOR ASHRAM SAKE. HOPE WELL.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta, addressee's father-in-law

[2] *Vide* also Vol. LXXX, pp. 307-8.

402. LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN

POONA,
October 6, 1945

DEAR MISS PETERSEN,

The enclosed[1] is self-explanatory. Bapu wishes me to send it to you and would like a reply by return of post as the matter of giving your institution help is coming up for consideration when the Trust Committee meets here on 16th, 17th and 18th inst.

I imagine there will be no difficulty in your giving an undertaking that if the K. M. Fund helps you with money you will consent to have at least one or two of its representatives on your governing body and that there will be nothing done in the way of conversions in the institution.

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

MISS MARIE PETERSEN
SEVA MANDIR
PORTO NOVO

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

403. LETTER TO THE MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD,
POONA,
October 8, 1945

MESSRS. THE MERCANTILE BANK
OF INDIA, LTD.
P.O. BOX 128, BOMBAY

Ref : Your letter No. Acctt, Mis. M/158 dt. 13-10-'45

DEAR SIRS,

With reference to your above-mentioned letter enclosing a receipt in duplicate for Rs. 5305-11-2, I have to inform you that I have authorised Messrs. Bachhraj & Co. Ltd., Bombay, to collect the amount from you.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Letter from L. N. Gopalaswamy, Secretary, Tamil Nadu Provincial Committee of the Kasturba Trust, in which he had expressed the inability of the Trust to give financial help to Anne Marie Petersen's ashram at Porto Novo.

404. TELEGRAM TO P. C. GHOSH

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD, POONA,
October 9, 1945

DR. P. C. GHOSH
14/8 GARIAHAT ROAD
BALLYGUNGE
CALCUTTA

NO PROGRAMME TO BE PUBLISHED BEFORE MY ARRIVAL CALCUTTA.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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405. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

October 12, 1945

. . .[1] does not want the money back. Jajuji has decided that since the land which you did not wish to part with has not been given, Ghanshyamdas may, if he wishes, deduct something. But as he does not wish to do so, that is the end of the matter.

A letter from Dr. Ice is enclosed. We should put up for him the kind of structure he wants. Also think over the changes which he might consider desirable for us. I think if we can ensure coolness in the building by suitable means we should do so.

From a photostat of Gujarati : G. N. 10646

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[1] The first two sheets of the letter are not traceable.

406. LETTER TO PYARELAL

October 12, 1945

CHI. PYARELAL,

I must have a letter from Manu. When I see the situation you are in, I hate myself. And yet, who am I to interfere ? Do as your heart prompts you. Take a decision.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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407. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

POONA,
October 14, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. It is not as if I have known you from today. You must act with the assumption that you are working under me and with me. It is a different matter that your other pre-occupations keep you in infrequent touch with me. You will of course be knowing everything as the supervisor. You will no doubt remain in touch with women. If you find any shortcoming anywhere, you will draw my attention to them. Then you will be able to tell me what needs to be told without any conflict and without the feeling that you are taking my time. And yet, you will not feel burdened.

I have prepared the draft regarding your resignation[1] and sent it to Bapa. I shall send it to you when it is returned and will release it to the press only after you pass it. I shall prepare and send the English version also from here. That, of course, you will not be able to see (before it is sent).

I have written to Bapa about the salary of that lady[2] too. I shall settle it soon.

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[1] From the post of Joint Secretary, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, owing to differences with Amritlal Thakkar; *vide* Vol. LXXXI, pp. 357-8. *Vide* also the following item.

[2] Lila Jog

I have understood about Tendulkar.

It is your duty to look after your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11246. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

408. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

POONA,
October 16, 1945

CHI. MRIDU,

I showed it to Bapa. He returned my draft unchanged. He said : "I cannot think of making any changes in this. Do what you think proper. I have learnt about the resignation only today. But do what you think is correct." So I am sending my draft as it is with my signature. But if you wish to make any changes, send it back to me with the changes. I shall look into the changes and incorporate them if I find them in order and then send it to the press.

Now about Jog. Bapa says : "I stick to what I said. No one had sanctioned it. But if you can give the sanction for two months, you may as well make it for three months so that the matter is settled." I would do as you wish. I shall make the sanction for three months if you so desire. It appears to me that Jog has written under your persuasion. So I take that what will fully satisfy you will also satisfy her. I understand that what you suggest is two months' wages. So I shall arrange for sanction for only two months. I shall do about the matter as you want.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11247. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

409. LETTER TO FRANK W. MOFFETT

AS AT SEVAGRAM,
CAMP : NATURE CURE CLINIC,
POONA,
October 21, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have no title such as 'Honourable' or any other. I thank you for the peanut formulae.

Regarding the publication of *My Experiments with Truth* you can charge more than 5%, rising up to 10% if it becomes necessary. I hope, however, that the proposed publication will not cause any loss.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

FRANK W. MOFFETT, ESQ.
707 BROWDER STREET
DALLAS
(TEXAS, U.S.A.)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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410. LETTER TO E. SOMAN APPASAMY

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD,
POONA,
October 26, 1945

DEAR FRIEND,

Gandhiji has received your letter of 24th inst. He is surprised to hear from you that Shri Kamaraj and Shri Bhaktavatsalam used his name to persuade you to stand for election. He had said nothing of the kind to them. In the company of others they came to see him and enquire about his health as he was under the same roof as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Dr. Pattabhi who led them pointedly remarked that they had only come on a friendly visit as they knew he took no interest in elections, and as a matter of fact during the few minutes that they were with him there was no talk about the elections.

Yours sincerely,
S. N.

SHRI E. SOMAN APPASAMY
"PRITHI SADAN"
25 TIRUMALAI PILLAI RD.
THYAGARAJANAGAR, MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

411. LETTER TO ANNIE MASCARENE

Not for publication

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
6 TODIWALA ROAD,
POONA,
October 28, 1945

DEAR MASCARENE,

In continuation of the receipt of your resolution, you will not expect me to express any opinion because just now I have, so far as it is possible, steeled my heart against any expression of opinion. I have not studied the question of primary education in Travancore so as to satisfy myself, and I observe that many persons of note have expressed emphatic views one way or the other. I do not feel called upon to say anything.

Why did you drag my sister and her daughter ? My sister is wholly illiterate. Her daughter can with difficulty read or write something. But neither takes any interest in public matters. It is fraud upon the public to put such ignorant persons on the platform and make them repeat things parrot-like, leading the public to believe that some good work has been done.

I felt sorry when I first heard that my sister had been dragged out of her merited obscurity in which she was happy and contented. She has now come to me being on her way back to Rajkot. She tells me that she had not the slightest intention of going to a meeting or sending her daughter. She allowed herself to be tempted to go to Rameshwaram as a point of pilgrimage. She had intended also to remain obscure and not let the people know that she was my sister. If she had asked me I would have dissuaded her even from going to Rameshwaram, for I have no faith in these pilgrimages except under certain conditions. But what is done cannot be undone. I would however like you to give me your version of the story, so that I can have full facts enabling me to come to a right judgment, for I do not want to do you any injustice by making up my mind on insufficient data. Please therefore enlighten me. And who was the party who wrote out the speech that my sister's daughter read without understanding it ?

Yours,
BAPU

MISS A. MASCARENE
STATE CONGRESS OFFICE
TRIVANDRUM

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

412. DRAFT FOR CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

[On or after *October 29, 1945*][1]

1. Constructive programme is the chief plank for winning Swaraj by truthful and non-violent means. Its full execution means complete independence. But so long as the millions of India do not take to it, Parliamentary programme will remain as a supplement.

2. The method of enrolment of Congress membership has been useful and Congress has been able to do a lot of good work. But many defects have crept in. Therefore, in future the Congress will consist of workers or servants of the nation only. Any man or woman above the age of sixteen can become a Congress worker, provided he or she is a habitual wearer of khadi certified by the A.I.S.A. and pays a monthly fee of 1,920 rounds of handspun yarn to the Congress. The spinners should be conversant with all the processes from picking cotton pods from the field to the point of making slivers and producing yarn. They should also know how to put a spinning-wheel in order.

3. The Congress shall make it a point of duty to penetrate the 7,00,000 villages of India. At least one Congress worker shall stay in each village and do the following :

(a) He shall come in personal contact with every villager and keep a list of their names along with those of the other members of their families.

(b) He will enrol and train Congress workers from amongst the villagers themselves and keep a register of all those who come on the roll. These shall form the Village Congress Committee.

(c) He shall keep a record of his work from day to day.

(d) It is possible that obstacles might be placed in his way by the Government or by the villagers themselves. He shall fight all difficulties by truthful and non-violent action even though he might perish in the attempt.

(e) He shal organize the villages so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts, treating the manufacture of Khadi as the centre, in accordance with the lines laid down by the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A. and the Goseva Sangh.

(f) He shall organize sanitation and hygiene among the villagers and take all measures for prevention of disease among them.

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[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's drafting the Constitution of the Congress; *vide* Vol. LXXXI, pp. 442-3.

(g) He shall organize the education of the villagers from birth to death along the lines of Nayee Talim, in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

(h) For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time by the Congress, he shall train and fit himself for the due performance of duty, in accordance with the rules laid down by the Congress from time to time.

4. The Congress shall take part in the elections in all Government-managed or controlled institutions, beginning with the Village Panchayat to the Central Legislative Assembly and Council.

5. The Congress shall contact all those who are on the Government's voters' list, and

(a) will give them an idea of their duties and their rights,

(b) shall produce the necessary literature for their education,

(c) shall make arrangements to impart literacy to the illiterate amongst them,

(d) shall see that those whose names are missing on the Government registers are duly entered therein,

(e) shall encourage those who are legally unqualified for the franchise to acquire the necessary qualifications for getting the right,

(f) shall carry on agitation for adult franchise for all inhabitants of India who are not proved lunatics or otherwise unfit workers.

6. Out of the existing workers the Congress shall maintain a Central Board of volunteers whose sole and special duty will be to reach help to and protect, in accordance with Truth and Non-violence, the people in cases of rioting, stealing, robbery and like emergencies. To this end the Congress shall conduct a teaching institution.

7. The Congress shall run a Languages School so as to enable Congressmen and women to learn the national language (i.e., Hindustani spoken by the villagers – Hindus, Muslims and others – in the villages of the North and written in the Nagari or Urdu script) and other Indian languages. This work is to be done along the lines of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha and Bharatiya Bhawan.

8. Representative Village Congress Sabhas being one per not less than 1000 voters and of workers being one per 1000 workers shall form the A.I.C.C.

9. The Indian National Congress will comprise :

(1) Village Congress Committee
(2) A.I.C.C.
(3) Working Committee of the Congress
(4) A.I.S.A.

(5) A.I.V.I.A.
(6) Hindustani Talimi Sangh
(7) Institution for Removal of Untouchability
(8) Anti-Intoxicant Association
(9) Labour Union
(10) Kisan Union

10. The A.I.C.C. shall frame rules for smooth working of the constitution and for matter left unprovided for herein.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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413. REFLECTIONS ON CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

[On or after *October 29, 1945*][1]

I am becoming more and more convinced that the four-anna membership should go. The membership of the Congress should be forty crores, the whole of the population, no matter to what sect, religion or province or state or the so-called independent possessions a particular individual belongs. The members have an equal right with all to service by the Congress organization. These forty crore members will exercise no privilege by reason of their recognition as such by the Congress.

The organization will be worked by those who are habitual wearers of khaddar one year before the date of commencement, who have renounced untouchability in all its forms and who are not dealers in foreign cloth or intoxicants, who have full belief in the constructive programme of the Congress and who are prepared and willing to do work referred to in Schedule A hereto and who have passed a probation period of six months in doing that work.

All Committees and sub-committees shall be formed from the workers above named.

The Schedules to be prepared by P.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] From the contents this appears to have been written about the same time as the preceding item.

414. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

POONA,
October 31, 1945

CHI MRIDULA,

I have your letter. You have laboured very hard. What for ? With me you could have been brief because I do not any more have to try and understand you. Or do I have to understand you further ? I hope I can understand from your slightest hint.

There is one thing you must do. What can there be personal with people like us ? Are you any more an individual ? If you continue to be an individual, it is not for writing personal things, but to preserve your individuality, which is done only when you reduce yourself to a zero and remain a zero. If you do not know this, then follow my experience if you can. Where there is 'I', there is no individuality. It is only when 'I' is eliminated, that individuality can exist. Take the letter 'I' of the English alphabet. So long as it is straight, it appears like a scare-crow. If it wants to efface itself and realize its individuality it must turn itself into a cypher. This is philosophy. But you will see what I mean.

I can understand your views about Bapa. Our experiences with him have been different. Only time will show whose experience is right. I am under no misconception that my experience being longer is right and your experience being shorter is wrong. I know that even a long experience can be wrong. We shall weigh our experiences on the scales of time.

Kanu agrees that what I have written to the Kasturba Nidhi about Bapa is correct, because Thakkar Bapa was instrumental in this. Had he not involved himself, the matter would not have gone any further. And Narandas is always clinging to him. He would like to continue to work through him as before and be satisfied. His idea assumed the gigantic size it did only after Thakkar Bapa joined in. Afterwards others too played a major role. That in my opinion is a remarkable thing about Bapa. He starts something and lets someone else take the credit. He has shortcomings, no doubt. Who does not have them ? But in my view, his faults have become insignificant in the face of his good qualities. I wish you too would recognize this some day.

I am writing to Bapa to pay Lila Jog for three months. Now I shall be able to find some time to send my letter to the newspapers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11248. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

415. LETTER TO DINSHAW K. MEHTA

POONA,
November 6, 1945

CHI. DINSHAW,

I could not write to you yesterday but I kept mulling over things. You can have anything you like under the Trust, but I would say that we cannot start anything at Singhgadh right now. It is another matter if I think of something to start there. The Bombay centre will have to be closed down. I would advise you to keep it for your own diversion and as a source of income. I cannot afford to have it under the Trust. I have still not received the figures about your personal expenses. If you are provided board and lodging and Rs. 500/- per month from here, in my view, you should not think of making extra money from nature cure. But here you must ask your own conscience. If this is a bitter pill, then you must live in Bombay and carry on your practice. If you put it in the Trust, it may be closed down soon after. You do not have to worry at all about the expense here. I shall manage. I am anticipating that there will not be a single rich patient left here by the end of December. The facilities here will solely be for those whom I send.

The person I send to manage things here will stay here. Meat will be cooked in the kitchen for only Maji and any members of your family who may be visiting but not for any patient. My dharma tells me that non-vegetarian food, such as mutton, liver, etc., have no place in nature cure. I do not suggest that those things have not benefited or cannot benefit anyone. All I say is that in my view they cannot be included in nature cure. The entire portion I am occupying at present will be reserved for you and Gulbai and it should not be necessary at any time to vacate it even for me. Whenever I come, I can live anywhere on the upper floor. It will not be difficult for me even to stay in the room which Saralabehn is at present occupying. If it rains I can settle in the bathroom. But it is not the least bit fair for me to occupy the portion especially built for Gulbai.

A 'stock list' should be prepared for the Trust. Perhaps it cannot be done till Bhimnag comes, though of course I have with me so many people here that I can easily get the stock list and such other things prepared. But your method of getting work done is altogether different.

I do not like it. That way there are many things that I do not like, but I put up with them. If you take up the responsibility, most of the things here can be settled while I am here. I consider jit wrong that you do not get patients to work. Vanamala is capable of doing a lot of work. All the patients would not be bed-ridden. From now on, only the poor must be admitted. If there is any rich patient, he will be brought only by me and he will serve some purpose. I may even take money from him and he will stay at my pleasure. It irks me that you have not trained even Gulbai properly. No one here seems to be getting any training. I do not even see the three-year training being given here which you thought was necessary. That is not correct. But in this matter, I have got to be content with whatever you can easily provide. If you think that there by the whole thing would completely change and if it is not proper for me to interfere to such an extent, you can remove me. If I were to involve myself in the matter, I would let things continue as they are. I receive letters from people from all over. They are willing to help in this or even join in. Some of them I must admit are very good. But till such time as I see you as a votary of nature cure and know who will be the right people to work with you, I would not like to admit any nature cure expert. If I run this workshop I would like to pass on its benefits to the thousands of people outside. For that, I would naturally need to have a large number of workers. Only when that happens, can we at last have something like a university.

Give some thought to this. I have not kept a copy of this letter. Return it to me after reading. I shall have it copied and then give it back to you. I have written down my thoughts as they came while I was still in bed in the morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

416. LETTER TO PYARELAL

POONA,
November 18, 1945

CHI. PYARELAL,

I thought I did not have to give you any reply. But that is all right. I am replying now.

1. I regard Prakash as my daughter. There was no idea of pleasing anybody in allowing her to touch me. I decided that she should remain with me while I stayed in Calcutta and then should accompany me to Santiniketan, nowhere else. I still think the same today. Let her come to Calcutta. Then we shall see what happens.
2. I shall arrange Rs. 25/- a month to be sent to you if you so wish.
3. I do not see any need for Sushila to write to Manu. However, if Sushila herself feels that she should send the letter, or another letter, she is free to do so. I am firmly of opinion that it is in her interest and in the interest of everyone that among the three of us only I should correspond with her. I do not think it is necessary to send either of the books to Manu now. But I shall let her know that you have given me the books to be sent to her. I shall do as she desires. That would be best. I feel that it would be somewhat rude to send her the books just like that.

Now that I am writing, let me state that I had understood your wish that I should not use for you terms like 'poet' and so on. You did not know the full context. Still, I shall be as cautious as I can be. But habits die hard !

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

417. LETTER TO INAYATULLA KHAN

SEVAGRAM,
November 27, 1945

ALLAMA SAHEB[1],

I have your letter of the 21st instant. I am sorry and surprised that you have again misinterpreted my letter. I had not suggested that because the correspondence between us was still going on you should not have your letter published. I had only expressed my view that this correspondence should not be released to the press. However, if you think it proper, you may have it published. You are right in saying that Dastagir[2] can come here if he so desires. I had not said I would comment on each separate clause of the constitution you have drafted. I had only said that if broad questions are prepared in regard to it, I could try to reply to them. But from your letter I have begun to fear that you may misunderstand anything I may say. Be that as it may, if you formulate a few questions for me, I shall give you written replies to them. It is unnecessary for Dastagir to come just to collect my replies. Besides there is not even enough time for that. But whatever you send at this address will reach me wherever I may be.

I have got one more complaint, namely, why do you write to me in English?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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418. LETTER TO BHAGAWATICHARAN SHUKLA

[After *December 4, 1945*][3]

CHI. BHAGAWATI,

I have your letter. How will the marriage be performed at Gondia ? Will there be some rites or will it take place before the magistrate ? You have not made it clear. I, of course, wish you both well. I can never have any objection to such marriages if they are not for mindless indulgence but for exercising restraint, for expanding the field of service and enhancing the spirit of service. Actually, I can even encourage such marriages. That is why I wish to have a reply to the above question.

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[1] The Khaksar Leader popularly known as Allama Mashriqui

[2] Ahmed Dastagir

[3] This is in reply to the addressee's letter dated December 4, 1945.

What is the girl's brother doing ? Why does the girl not write to me ? I am certainly eager to know what she has been doing since she first visited the Ashram.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

419. LETTER TO G. L. CROSS

CAMP : KHADI PRATISHTHAN,
SODEPUR (NEAR CALCUTTA),
December 18, 1945

DEAR MR. CROSS,

I have very carefully read your letter of the 15th and the note you left with me when we last met. Dr. Sushila Nayyar added that after best thought you had come to the conclusion that it would not be proper to worry me in the matter, at least for the time being. If this last news is accurate, I need not say anything more. However, I want to say that in popular estimation anything which the Government either directly or indirectly supports is considered to be anti-Independence and there is, at some stage or other, a clash between the people and the power that keeps the former from their cherished goal. This has happened often enough within my own experience. Therefore, 'non-political' has come to mean non-Indian, i.e., anti-Independence. Hence the unpopularity of movements connected with the Government. This is the crux. Association with war has a meaning with me but not with the average man. Everything British is certainly not bad if it is not synonymous with the Government; as C. F. Andrews, from top to toe British, was not bad. There are many organizations under Democracy which are not themselves run democratically but are not anti-democratic. Thus, a bank or a hospital would require experts to run it even though they may be run by democrats in the interest of democracy.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

G. L. CROSS, ESQ.
C/O FRIENDS' AMBULANCE UNIT
1 UPPER WOOD STREET
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

420. TELEGRAM TO AGA KHAN[1]

SANTINIKETAN,
December 19, 1945

AGA KHAN

THANKS YOUR WIRE. PLEASE ADDRESS SODEPUR.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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421. LETTER TO BHAGAWATICHARAN SHUKLA

[After *December 23,1945*][2]

I was very happy to have your letter. I do not have time any more to write much to anyone. Your account is very good. I also understand the reason for choosing Gondia.

I am leaving on the 17th.

You did well to write. You must now be restored to health. I shall be truly happy when both of you live an ideal life.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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422. LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

SODEPUR,
December 24, 1945

DEAR SISTER,

I received your letter today. I was happy. I know that you do not accept any position for the sake of honour.[3] You will only be doing service and I shall be free from worry. Do accept the position. God will make you do only good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11152. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram of December 17, 1945, which read : "I would like to write fully about Yeravda. Where can I address letters ?"

[2] The letter appears to have been written after the addressee's marriage which took place on December 23, 1945. *Vide* also pp. 234-5.

[3] The addressee had been appointed agent of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust for Gujarat.

423. LETTER TO PRAMILA

As at Khadi Pratishthan,
Sodepur (24 Parganas),
Camp : Contai,
January 1, 1946

Your letter of 22.12.1945 is before me. I do not want any witnesses. I do not see how there can be any. I do know how I can help you. If you are pure in heart and have not responded even in thought, the man himself must be purified by your own purity. This is a universal law admitting of no exceptions. Therefore, you need no further directions from me, except that you should firmly realize that purity is its own shield against the vilest attack of the most vicious man.

If the Karnataka men are what you describe them to be, you can really become guardian of their virtues by means of your own.

You must quickly learn Hindustani. If you are industrious, you can pick up enough in one month's time and make yourself perfect by practice.

Shrimati Pramila
Gate No. 66
Nr. Post Office
Fort Bellary

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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424. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Sodepur,
January 1, 1946

I did send you a longish letter. I have asked S. to send you a copy. I have before me two letters from you. The one about Dharmadev Shastri has been sent to Bapa. It would be a sad thing if he proves untrue. But you know what havoc rumour works. Your long letter covers many points. I do not wonder at the bitter experience about *Vaidyas*. Many of them are impostors. You should write to Chandiprasad about the person sent by him. I do hope you will come upon a good man. I would have none but a proved man. That that man has proved a failure is bad and that the cow he brought has proved a burden is also bad.

Then you do not get a good worker. How will you pull on ? I do not know that all this does not point to retracing your steps or at least so ordering your life as to enable you to live there without anxiety or worry. I would advise you to have a servant or two to carry out your instructions and look after your pony and a cow if you must have one for giving you pure milk. I would even go without either and be content with the good milk you may buy there. You should move away to a cooler place in summer. This should be easy. Do not think of having a summer haunt for yourself. You must not use up the last penny and then feel compelled to come to Sevagram or go elsewhere as a failure which you will be if you have to give up your place after using the last pice. Do not regard this as a doleful picture. If it is unwarranted by facts as you see them, throw it away.

About P. I must not say anything. I am prejudiced. I only hope that God will be your guide in this as in everything else. Only in the latter case I might offer helpful criticism.

Of the atmosphere what you say is about right. But the things will shape themselves right. Anyway I am trying my best. Here I am daily witnessing a mighty change. I had this evening a meeting attended by probably a lac of prople. I was able to have prayer in perfect silence. It would have done your soul good to witness such a scene. This commenced at Sodepur. My first meeting was somewhat boisterous. As days went on things were changed. And yet I build nothing on this. Only this experience is a balancing factor.

I do hope Punditji and his wife will come to you. My love to them.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MIRABEHN
KISAN ASHRAM
MULDASPUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

425. LETTER TO ARUNA ASAF ALI[1]

SODEPUR,
January 7, 1946

CHI. ARUNA[2],

I read your little note immediately it was received. But your joint letter to Maulana Sahib I read early morning today (silence-day) immediately after the 4.30 prayer. You will let me say that it is eloquent but not cogent. It does injustice to yourselves, the Maulana and the cause. But I must not argue whilst you are under detention of your own making and yet-falsely believing yourselves to be free.

Of course you must do as your comprehension of truth bids and not as anybody else however high says. And I honour you for such action.

It is for your sake that I resort to a foreign tongue and a thing I will not do even for you, if you were free.

Blessings to both from[3]
BAPU

From a copy : C. W. 11339. Courtesy: Aruna Asaf Ali

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426. LETTER TO ARTHUR HENDERSON

AS AT SEVAGRAM,
"VIA" WARDHA, C. P., INDIA,
CAMP : SARANIA ASHRAM,
GAUHATI,
January 10, 1946

Thank you for your letter received some days ago. I have been busy with the annual session of the Women's Conference and hence unable to acknowledge it earlier. I am grateful to you for enquiring about the matters mentioned to you by me when we last met. I do so wish all political prisoners could be released. It would have a good effect. What is more, it would be an act of justice though tardy.

---

[1] Wife of Asaf Ali, a Congress leader. She was a member of the Congress Socialist Party and had played a prominent part in the Quit India movement in 1942.

[2] & [3]The superscription and subscription are in Devanagari.

I enclose a list of several prisoners who have done ten to fifteen years in jail. This refers to Bengal only and then too the list is probably not exhaustive. Some are in bad health. Do you not agree that these should be released without delay ?

ARTHUR HENDERSON, ESQ.
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
INDIA OFFICE,
WHITE HALL
LONDON

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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427. LETTER TO RAJA MAHENDRA PRATAP

January 12, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1] after a long lapse of time. It appears to be a manifesto and you have invited publication of it. I, however, refrain from sending it to the Press at the moment. I would like to know from you whether you are allowed to receive visitors. Goswami[2] has enquired about you to find out your whereabouts and suddenly within two days of this enquiry I got your letter. Are you permitted to tell me whether you are to be tried or how long you are to be detained ? From your letter I gather that you are keeping well and are being well treated. Are you kept in company with others or are you by yourself ? Your friends and advisers would certainly like to know all about you.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The addressee who had been imprisoned by the U.S. Occupation Authorities in Japan had requested Gandhiji to do everything humanly possible to have him freed so that he could work for world peace.

[2] Advaitkumar Goswami

428. LETTER TO SECRETARY, AMERICAN RED CROSS, CALCUTTA

As from Khadi Pratishthan,
Sodepur,
January 12, 1946

Dear Friend,

I am enclosing herewith a letter from Gandhiji addressed to Raja Mahendra Pratap, who was arrested some five months ago in Tokyo by Gen. MacArthur for trial as a war criminal by the British. Gandhiji's letter is in reply to a letter just received from Raja Mahendra Pratap dated 19th October, 1945. The letter is written in the letterhead of the American Red Cross and the address given is :

XI Corps Stokade No. 1
Yokohama Prison
APO 503, Japan.

A long time has elapsed since this letter was written and it has even been reported that Raja Mahendra Pratap has been handed over to the British by Gen. MacArthur and is now somewhere in India. Since the letter is written in the letterhead of the American Red Cross I presume you will be able to forward this letter to him. Gandhiji will be grateful if you can furnish him the address of Raja Mahendra Pratap.

A line in reply to the effect that Gandhiji's letter has been forwarded to Raja Mahendra Pratap will be appreciated.[1]

Yours sincerely,
Amrit Kaur

Secretary
American Red Cross
Calcutta

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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429. A TELEGRAM

January 24, 1946

YOU AND PROMILABEHN DECIDE ON INSCRIPTION. MUST BE IN NAGARI AND URDU RETAINING OM AND HE RAM. NO GAUDINESS.

Bapu

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXXII, p. 406.

430. A TELEGRAM

January 26, 1946

THAT HIGHNESS HAS BUILT SHOULD BE STATED. NO FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS NECESSARY.

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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431. NOTE TO NAGESHWAR PRASAD VAKIL

January 28, 1946

Write to him and also to Priyamvada. Who is the person desiring to marry ?[1] What does he do ? Does he have any children ? How much money does he have ? What is his occupation ?

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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432. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

MADRAS,
January 28, 1946

BHAI PRAKASAM[2],

While passing through Andhra I heard that the purses presented to you were used by you for your own personal expense. I said that that could not have been so. I was told that that exactly was the case, but that there was nothing wrong in your spending the money given to you for personal use. Write to me or tell me the real facts in this matter. I wanted to talk it over with you but I have no free time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The addressee had written that a widower friend of his was eager to marry a Harijan girl of Gandhiji's choice.

[2] (1872-1957); editor, *Swarajya*; was called "Andhra Kesari" - the lion of Andhra; Premier (Chief Minister) of composite Madras state 1946-47, and later the first Chief Minister of Andhra, 1953-54

433. LETTER TO AGA KHAN

SEVAGRAM,
February 12, 1946

AGA KHAN,

I have your letter from Bhopal. You will have received the telegram.[1] I sent you in reply. I have suggested 4.00 o'clock on the 24th. Please let me know if that time is not suitable. It will be nice if Nawab Saheb can come. I do not think Maulana Saheb and others will be able to come.

May the Diamond Jubilee be a success ! I trust you are well.

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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434. LETTER TO J. C. SMUTS

SEVAGRAM "VIA" WARDHA,
February 13, 1946

DEAR FIELD MARSHAL,

This is just to introduce Miss Marjorie Sykes who is proceeding to South Africa and other parts of the earth in search of material and facts for writing the life of the late Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews. I hope you will give her such help as it is possible for you to give and facilitate her passage from South Africa to England.

I see that you are keeping fit and well even though fairly advanced in years.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy. Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXIII, p. 119.

435. LETTER TO VERRIER ELWIN

SEVAGRAM "VIA" WARDHA (C.P.),
February 13, 1946

MY DEAR VERRIER,

Your letter of 1st November was given to me by our mutual friend Jehangir Patel after the 14th January through Thakkar Bapa.

Your language cannot hurt me. I love you so well and so much that language has no effect on me, even as my son Harilal's has not. What has hurt me is that distrust of you has crept into me. Bapa, who loves you, if it were possible to do so more than I do, deepens that distrust. I do not know whether I have succeeded in conveying to you my full meaning. Your learning which I know is very great, is worth nothing to me if you do not or cannot represent truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Of course you know this fine oath that is administered to every witness before a law court. That it has become a mere mechanical thing and debasing at that does not matter. We utter God's name in vain. He does not suffer. We do. Is it possible that untruth has crept into you? Bapa swears, I feel.

Bapa will see this letter before I send it and so will Jehangir Patel through whom it will go, if it does.

I have dictated this letter because *Harijan* takes almost every ounce of my energy.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

436. A LETTER

BOMBAY,
February 19, 1946

Your letter had been forwarded to me by Bhai Sadiq Ali. I am sorry I could not send a reply sooner. I do not consider what you write a justification for Pakistan. The two-nation theory does not impress me. Economic inequality must go. It is not a Hindu-Muslim question; it is a question of hunger, affecting millions. It is the same both for the Hindus and the Muslims. It is the question of the workers and employers. I am convinced that when this question is solved, the problem of high and low will also be solved. Both parties will have to co-operate in solving this problem. Let us see what God wills.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

437. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 20, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

Though I took work from Manibhai there, I had brought him so that he would work here. I thought you knew that much. But I shall send Munnalal as substitute. He is also capable of working. Someone else had asked for him but I let the matter pass. There is no need at all to panic.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

438. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

February 21, 1946

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter which I have received from Bezwada dated 15th inst. Ordinarily I would have ignored such a letter but there is a specific allegation in this letter which I believe requires immediate contradiction. It is about your having collected Rs. 50,000/-.[1] I do not know whether there is any truth in this matter but if you have collected such an amount, it must have been credited to the Congress account in your province. This kind of scandal should not be allowed to be spread and therefore I would suggest that you may take such steps either by public contradiction or by such other method as you may deem appropriate to prevent the spread of such scandals.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* also p. 242.

439. A NOTE

February 25, 1946

I am now tired. If the man is here tell him he may come. The car which was to come has been datained. Let it be sent if possible, otherwise he will manage somehow.

First of all decide about the post. Telephone to ask whether Aga Khan has come or not. Write that Gandhi says that he has no house at all; all are his. He will do what both of you say, that your convenience will be his convenience.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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440. LETTER TO CHARLES F. GRITZNER

[On or after *February 27, 1946*][1]

The enclosure to your letter of 27-2-1946 reads well, but so far as I can see, is utterly impracticable. My mind does not think in continents. It lays stress on the perfection of the individual conduct. They had been formed to . . .[2] to the greatest results.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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441. LETTER TO JACK JAPHETH

POONA,
March 6, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad you have been in touch with Mme. Sophia Wadia[3]. She is any day a safe friend and guide. Therefore rather than have anything from me, I would ask you to come in frequent and closer contact with her and derive comfort.

---

[1] The letter is scribbled on the addressee's letter of February 27, 1946.

[2] Illegible in the source

[3] Of the Bombay Theosophical Society

Regarding your questions I believe in reincarnation. I believe it is possible to recall one's previous states but it is a curiosity which should always be kept under full control. If the belief that your wife's soul like every other is eternal does not sustain you, no prying into the secrets of nature is going to help. I have known cases in which such prying has positively hindered progress.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

JACK JAPHETH
19 "GIRDHAR NIWAS"
COLABA CAUSEWAY
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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442. LETTER TO PYARELAL

March 9, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

What is the remedy if you burn even in the shade ?

1. I will give you whatever time you want. Tell me how much, when ?

2. I have not written to the Ashram about your expenses. I did not know I had to do that. I only gave my approval. I shall write now.

3. Leave everything about Sushila to God. It will be enough if you do not write anything sarcastic.

4. Who was writing the prayer discourses ? If they are in Gujarati, dictate them to Sushila. If they are in Hindi, dictate to C.P.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

443. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

POONA,
March 9, 1946

CHI. MRIDU,

I have your letter. It seems you have become as old as I. I of course forget, and so do you. So we are both the same. Then who should remember for whom ?

I have written to Nimubehn[1]. Thank God you have become calm. Where is the room in Jehangir Patel's house ? Let us see. Improve your health. That is your first duty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11256. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

444. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

BOMBAY,
March 13, 1946

BHAI PRAKASAM,

I have your letter dated 2-3-1946 as well as the papers. The papers were not necessary.

I did not say I saw nothing wrong in your using the money for your own purpose. I do not have here the copy of my earlier letter. But as far as I remember I had said that Kala Venkatarao had expressed that opinion. Read the letter again. In my view, it is wrong to take money like that for personal expenses. Be that as it may, it is your duty to explain your position to the public. I am hearing bad reports.

Sardar has sent me copies of your letters and his reply. I think Sardar's reply is appropriate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Nirmala Bakubhai

445. TELEGRAM TO JOINT SECRETARY, HINDU SANGHA SAMSKARANA SAMAJ, NELLORE[1]

BOMBAY,
March 14, 1946

NO LEGAL FORMALITY REQUIRED OPENING TEMPLE. YOU SHOULD SEE RAMULU[2].

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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446. TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT, DISTRICT CONGRESS, NELLORE

BOMBAY,
March 15, 1946

PRESIDENT
DISTRICT CONGRESS
NELLORE

STATE LEGAL DIFFICULTY SRIRAMULU IS REASONABLE. HE WILL ACCEPT ANY CLEAR ASSURANCE FROM TRUSTEES.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram of March 13, 1946, which read : "Trustees approached. Harijan Temple entry favoured. Legal formalities require time. Pray advise Sriramulu break fast."

[2] Potti Sriramulu, a Congressman from Nellore who fasted unto death in 1952 for a separate Andhra State

447. TELEGRAM TO SHYAMLAL

POONA,
March 19, 1946

SHRI SHYAMLAL
BAJAJWADI
WARDHA

IT APPEARS I NEED MOVE BEFORE FIRST APRIL. THEREFORE IT SEEMS MEETING AS ORIGINALLY FIXED POSSIBLE BUT I STILL THINK INADVISABLE BUT YOU CAN RECONSIDER IF YOU WISH.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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448. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

POONA,
March 19, 1946

CHI. AMRITLAL,

Are these the new rules or are they current ones ?[1] If they are the current rules who has initiated the ones in the second column ? Who will decide that this is to be discarded and that to be accepted ? Or will the Hindustani Sangh have to decide it ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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449. TELEGRAM TO NAWAB OF BHOPAL[2]

March 23, 1946

NAWAB SAHEB
BHOPAL

INVITATION RECEIVED AFTER DESPATCH OF WIRE. AM ACCEPTING. REACHING DELHI 3RD.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The question was pertaining to the Urdu script.

[2] In reply to the addressee's telegram of March 22, 1946, which read : "If you are accepting the invitation of the Viceroy to meet the Cabinet Mission please let me know. Also when you expect arrive Delhi. Kindest regards."

450. TELEGRAM TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

URULI,
March 25, 1946

SHRI PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS
NAVSARI CHAMBERS
FORT, BOMBAY

ONLY ONE MEETING CAN TAKE PLACE. LET LEAGUE CALL IF THEY WISH AND OMIT ME. PLEASE AVOID DIFFERENCE. SORABJI MUST RESTRAIN HIMSELF. COMING THIRTYFIRST ANY CASE. SHOW THIS SARDAR.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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451. LETTER TO CORBETT

VILLAGE URULI KANCHAN (G.I.P.),
POONA DISTRICT,
March 28, 1946

DEAR MR. CORBETT,

I have your letter. In my opinion the incidents you describe were disgraceful enough if and where they happened. I say 'if' because whilst I have known of some, I have no knowledge of all that you have described. But to give them all-India publicity in the columns of *Harijan* is to exaggerate the evil out of all proportion. To advertise an evil is to give it a fresh lease of life. Wisdom, therefore, dictates dignified silence and a determination to prepare to face manfully a repetition.

There are Anglo-Indians who are ashamed of their Indian parentage and will have nothing to do with Indians. These excite prejudice and when feelings run high come in for exhibition of such prejudice resulting even in disgraceful incidents you have described. Living in the midst of a population which numerically reaches nine figures, regrettable incidents will sometimes happen. Times of peace should be devoted [to] think[ing] out ways and means of avoiding the re-eruption. One that occurs to me is that Anglo-Indians should cease to think of themselves as separate people requiring special privileges. These they will not, and should not, enjoy in independent India. Indeed, nobody should have special privileges. All over the world they have been the bane of foreign rule which is evil itself. It must breed evil and exist on that breed.

There are Indians who have adopted European manners and customs and conduct themselves as superiors, much to the discomfort of their fellow-men. I know that before now even these have come in for the ill-treatment to which you have drawn my attention, How nice it would be if all these ugly features of society were removed even before independence becomes the order of the day in law and in fact !

This letter is not intended for publication.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

452. *LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES*

URULI VILLAGE (G.I.P.),
POONA DISTRICT,
March 29, 1946

DEAR DR. HOLMES,

Mr. and Mrs. Kodanda Rao are my friends of long standing. I have no doubt you have heard of the S. of I. Society founded by the late Shri G. K. Gokhale of whom you will learn everything from these friends.

Will you please introduce them to American friends and otherwise help them to the best of your ability ?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
10 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

453. *LETTER TO SHIV NARAYAN TANDON*

URULI,
March 29, 1946

BHAI SHIV NARAYAN,

I am firmly of the opinion that it will be more becoming on the part of you all to find the money for the building, etc. And it will be good for the Kasturba Memorial Trust too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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454. *LETTER TO ADRIENNE*

ON THE TRAIN,
March 31, 1946

DEAR ADRIENNE,

I was glad to have your letter after such a long time. By the time this reaches you, you will be sporting your new name. I hope you will have a joint life of service.

When you return, even though for a short time, you will be a changed woman !

You will have learnt all about my activities from the papers.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

455. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

"Valmiki Mandir",
Reading Road,
New Delhi,
April 3, 1946

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

I have your letter. Most reluctantly I resume English in the hope that I will now be able to convince you that you are in error.

The whole question arose out of my discussion with your secretary, Shri Kala Venkatrao. I began a talk with him about you. I think I enquired how you were able to carry on your practice and also public work at the same time. He said you were not carrying on any practice nor conducting a newspaper but that you were living on purses presented to you by the public and added that he could see nothing wrong in it. This news left a bad taste in my mouth. This was the genesis of our correspondence. I think that it is an extremely bad example. If it is multiplied, purity of public life will come to an end. I can understand a public fund for the maintenance of public servants such, for instance, as was raised by the late Jamnalalji for lawyers who had given up practice in the heyday of non-co-operation. The nucleus of this fund exists even now and some workers are being supported out of it. Mahilashram is being conducted in Wardha for the education of the families of the late Jamnalalji's friends who had become servants of the public, relying for their maintenance upon Jamnalalji. Some of them even go so far as to collect public funds which they hand over to the public work for which they may have been collected. Of this they render a full account and keep nothing for themselves. But I have never heard of a single instance in which what you say has been done or can be defended. All the papers that you have sent to the Sardar and are now sending to me simply show how in my opinion you have been instrumental, however unwittingly, in, as I would put it, corrupting public life. I do not know what evidence you will put before me to convince me to the contrary. It does not require conviction of friends who doubt the wisdom of the course adopted by you. But it requires peremptory correction of your thought and practice and retracing, so far as possible, what has been done.

I advise your publication of all your doings from the very beginning. ill be good for you and good for the public and the cause you and I stand for. Finally, I would go so far as to suggest that you should, if you do not accept my reasoning, obtain a ruling from the Working Committee. The matter is too dangerous to be left undecided.

I am sending a copy of this to the Sardar.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI T. PRAKASAM
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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456. TALK WITH SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

NEW DELHI,
April 10, 1946

After a few preliminaries I told Sir Stafford that I had come in response to the message he had sent and added 'I am at your service now.'

CRIPPS : I am glad you have been good enough to come for this chat. The whole thing is off the record and let us have a free and frank talk. Will you please let me have your appraisal of the situation ?

GANDHIJI : It is too soon for me to give any definite appraisal. Day to day developments are as much within your knowledge as mine. So far as I am able to say, you and the Mission have come out with two objectives — the setting up of a machinery for framing the new constitution and the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre. Are you hopeful of solving both the problems on this visit ?

C. I am quite hopeful. I can tell you that we do not mean to go back from this country without solving both of them.

G. Cutting across both those problems is the issue of Pakistan. If you are hopeful of solving both those problems it means that you have in the first instance to reach a decision on the issue of Pakistan.

C. Yes, you are right. I would only add that we propose to reach a decision on that preliminary issue by bringing about an agreement.

G. The prospects of an agreement do not seem to look bright. You have no doubt been reading the statements and interviews given recently by Jinnah and the speeches which have been made at the Muslim Legislators' Convention.

C. Of course, I have. They breathe fire and brimstone. But you can take it from me that they do not disturb us. I am quite accustomed to such things in my own country.

G. That may be so. But the effect of such statements and utterances may not be the same in this country as it is in your country with seasoned politics.

C. When I find a person getting louder and more violent in his denunciations of his opponents, I get the feeling, as with your experience you will get under the same circumstances, that he is beginning to recognise that the extreme case for which he stands is becoming desperate.

G. I am very glad that the Mission whose advent to and presence in this country are the immediate provocation for these intensified denunciations, is not taking them at their face value. But you were mentioning that you hoped to reach a solution on Pakistan by agreement. In the present tempers of the two main parties, particularly of the Muslim League, it is difficult to see how an agreement could be reached.

C. Has not the issue been reduced to a narrow one ? The question is about the machinery for the administration of common subjects like defence, foreign affairs, etc. Jinnah says that arrangements for their administration should be made by treaty between Pakistan and the rest of India. The Congress says you must have a federal centre for administering them. The gulf between these two points of view is by no means unbridgeable.

G. But are not the two points of view fundamentally different ? The one is thinking of two independent sovereign states having treaty relation with each other, while the other is thinking in terms of a single federal State in which these common subjects would be assigned for administration to a Centre.

C. That of course is so; but where differences of opinion of such a nature do crop up it is quite possible for the two parties to come to an agreement if only they will meet, sit down and try to arrive at a solution by a process of give and take. From my experience I could tell you that the issue in dispute and the difference to be reconciled cannot be considered too difficult for arriving at an agreed solution. In international affairs much bigger issues between Governments have been and are being settled by that process. It will be necessary for the Congress and the League each to come down a bit and meet.

G. Where are they to meet ? What is the half-way house that you want them to meet at ?

C. There is something like a confederation and a confederal Centre.

G. Would not a confederal Centre mean merely a gathering of representatives of Governments of Independent States ?

C. Yes.

G. And there would be no legislature of other auxiliary things which you find in a Centre of the usual type ?

C. No.

G. What about the sanction behind the decision which such a confederate machinery will take ?

C. No doubt it will be a loose unit. But it is unnecessary for me to point out to you that the States of the American Union formed first a confederation which later on developed into a federation. There is no reason why a similar thing should not happen in India.

G. But you forget, however, some rather fundamental differences between the two cases. In the case of America the states were independent units which first formed a loose kind of union. They found that union did not satisfy their requirements and therefore developed the closer federal union that now exists. In India we have now a unitary state with a common Centre. You propose to scatter the units in this state.

C. Oh, no. No, I am not scattering them.

G. When I said you are now scattering them I did not intend to convey that you personally were doing or wanted to do so. I am only trying to put to you my understanding of the proposal that you apparently have under consideration, of forming a confederal union between the proposed Pakistan and the rest of India. To resume what I was saying, the units of the existing unitary Indian State will, if the Pakistan idea is accepted, be scattered and then given the option of grouping themselves as they like into two or more independent States and come together in a loose confederation in the hope that later on the deficiencies of such a confederal arrangement will compel them to convert the confederal into a closer federal union. In other words the ultimate development visualised is, so far as inter-relations between the units and the administration of common subjects are concerned, to bring them into more or less the condition in which they are today.

C. I see your point, but if agreement has to be arrived at, we cannot altogether justify an acceptable or accepted solution on the basis of argument alone. We have got to take psychological considerations into account. All the same I do not wish you to take away from this conversation the idea that I am finally committed to the solution being found in the shape of a confederation.

G. I understand, but what psychological consideration are you thinking of?

C. Rightly or wrongly the Muslims have now very widespread amongst them the fear of Hindu domination and if India is to get on peacefully in the future they have to be convinced that the political system that is to be set up will be one which will remove this fear.

G. I am all for doing everything that in reason is possible for removing this fear. But in the conditions of this country and taking into account the numbers of Muslims involved and the manner in which they are distributed it is difficult for anybody to agree that the removal of this fear can be accomplished only or even most successfully by setting up an independent State where, though the Muslims may be in a majority, there will be a very large population of non-Muslims to reckon with. What are the grounds for your hope that an agreement could be reached between the parties and how could the reaching of such an agreement be furthered ?

C. Between you and me, I may tell you that in spite of all the violent speeches that have been made within the last two days at the Muslim Convention, leading representatives of the Muslim community are, even as we are talking now furiously thinking as to how best they could moderate their published demands so as to arrive at a settlement with the other party and if a gentleman like you could go round Delhi and speak to your Muslim friends and bring them round to realise that if they did not show a spirit of accommodation they stood the risk of the decision of the Mission going against them on the issue of Pakistan, it would be of great assistance.

G. All advice which may come from people like me is suspect in Muslim circles. Emotionally worked up as Muslim sentiment is today, the more effective method of making them climb down from their extravagantly high perch is for you or other members of the Mission giving to Jinnah as early as you can a broad hint that there was no likelihood of Pakistan being agreed to by the Mission or His Majesty's Government.

C. No doubt that would be more effective, but the time is not yet for your making known even in an informal way what might be our ultimate decision even if we had reached one already.

G. I should have thought that there could be no hesitation in this matter. With all the background of your history in this country, your present position and the state system you have built up, it is impossible for a person like me to imagine that if you were put on your conscience and asked to give a fair decision on the merits your judgment would be in favour of dividing the country into two or more independent States.

C. I quite appreciate your point of view, but where agreement has to be arrived at, it may be necessary for the party even with the strongest case agreeing to accept something less than what it may rightly be considered entitled to in order to avoid a possible decision against them. Often in my practice at the Bar, parties with a very strong case for whom I was appearing have come to me and said, "no doubt our case is very strong, but we do not know what the judge might finally decide. Meanwhile the other side is offering to compromise on terms which although less than what we are rightfully entitled to are still sure and certain. We have to place this against a possible adverse finding of the judge. Shall we accept those terms ?"

G. If the two main protagonists do come to a settlement, nothing could be more satisfactory. But the danger of a compromise is that the terms may be such, especially when they are dictated by pressure from a third party, as would not in the long run satisfy or be in the interests of the one party or the other or perhaps even both.

C. There is that point no doubt but has not it happened in Indian history already that the country has settled down to decisions which when given did not please any party, as the Communal Award for instance.

G. The Communal Award has no doubt been aquiesced in though everybody not excluding the Muslims have been loudly complaining against it. But its successful enforcement is due primarily to the fact that the British have been in power and also strong enough to force down even an unpopular decision of that sort. The conditions will, however, be very different if on the issue of Pakistan you give a decision of a similar nature. India will be declared independent. You will not be here to face the risk that will inevitably follow such a decision. You will not be doing a service to the country by giving a decision which will intensify communal conflict and lead perhaps to a civil war, the responsibility for tackling which will not be yours. So any decision that you give has more chance of being implemented successfully after you leave if it is one which is justifiable on the merits. If on the other hand it is one which attempts merely to decide the dispute between two antagonists by denying to each a portion of his claim, whatever the merits may be, it will leave a trail of trouble behind.

C. I agree that there are risks but we are determined to see that a settlement is reached and if it is not reached by agreement between the parties, to give a decision ourselves.

G. I have always been a staunch supporter of the view that if the parties in this country do not come to an agreement, the British Government which is in power today cannot escape the responsibility of giving a decision. There are suggestions for arbitration.

C. I know, but if the parties concerned agree to refer an issue like Pakistan for decision of a committee consisting of a Russian, a Turk and a Chinese, I cannot see why we should stand in the way. No doubt in view of all the connections that exist between us and India and the knowledge that we possess of conditions here there is justification for your view that the British should give a decision; but if the parties to the dispute themselves prefer to agree to abide by the decision of an outside committee of the sort I mentioned, I cannot see why I should stand in the way. The main thing is the reaching of a settlement which both parties will accept.

G. Sir Stafford, as regards the constitution-making machinery, I presume you will agree that you cannot have two constitution-making bodies or I understand the suggestion has been made of two compartments of a single constitution-making body unless the decision is first taken in favour of Pakistan. Such a decision necessarily implies that provinces will have to decide beforehand which constitution-making body or compartment of a single constitution-making body they will go into.

C. Yes.

G. Similarly, Indian States will have to choose in a similar way.

C. Yes, but we cannot rule out the possibility in that case of the Indian States wishing to have a constitution-making body of their own !

G. Are you contemplating seriously of these complications ?

C. There are complications but the whole thing will depend upon the agreement reached on the question of Pakistan. That hurdle has to be crossed before everything else.

G. How do you propose to set up the constitution-making body ? What is the authority which will constitute it ? By Act of Parliament ?

C. (After some hesitation) I am afraid we have not thought this out. I should not think that an Act of Parliament is necessary for this purpose.

G. If not an Act of Parliament, there should be at least a proclamation of His Majesty. The matter is, you will agree, big enough not to be left to be provided for by a Press communique of the present Government of India or even by an announcement by the Viceroy.

C. We shall no doubt go into this question. The main thing is that we should reach an agreement first on the issue of substance. When such agreement is reached we shall take the best advice that is available and implement it in the form most suitable.

G. What about the Indian States ? Do you think they will come in without standing out for things which it might be difficult to agree to ?

C. I do not foresee any great difficulty from that quarter.

G. What about Paramountcy ? Where will it rest after you transfer power ?

C. Paramountcy when we go will have to disappear. When India gets independence not only British India but every one of the Indian States will become independent.

G. All the 562 or 601 of them ?

C. Yes, and when they so become independent it will be for each of them to negotiate fresh arrangement with the new Government of India.

G. This will be another additional complication which you will introduce as the result of your quitting power in India. It is difficult for me to think that you should expect 562 States each to negotiate separately a new arrangement with the Government of India. Even now there are only about 40 States with treaties and they as well as the rest of the States are all really held together by the British power exercising paramountcy.

C. But it is difficult to expect a State like Hyderabad with permanent treaty relations with the British Crown to agree to any arrangement decided over its head. It might well say whatever you and the new Government may do we refuse to recognise it.

G. With such experience of Indian States as I possess, it is difficult for me to believe that an Indian State, even if it be Hyderabad, could maintain the position that it will not acquiesce in the arrangements which are made by the paramount power.

C. You are probably right in saying that even Hyderabad could not maintain such an attitude for long. But we cannot ignore our obligations. What is it that you yourself would suggest ?

G. The natural thing. British power over Indian States is exercised through paramountcy. You are transferring power to Indian hands. The authority which takes your place in British India should exercise that paramountcy after you hand over power.

C. That is not the law.

G. I cannot follow you. Was not it law in 1858 and in 1935 ?

C. But surely if bad law was perpetrated in the past you would not advise us to follow that example now.

G. You are not squarely facing the problem. That bad law has been in force and all States have settled down to it for nearly a century.

C. We have certain obligations to States under paramountcy-protection for instance. We were able to discharge this obligation because there was the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force at our disposal. But the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force will not be available after India becomes independent. It would not be right for us to tell the States that as we are quitting India we are handing over our obligations to a new Indian Government which [do not] have such forces at its disposal and which therefore will not be in a position to implement those obligations. It is for the States to look out for themselves and if they are so minded, to make fresh trials with the new Government of India.

G. What do you mean when you say that the new Indian Government will not be in a position to implement their obligations of protection of Indian States ?

C. It is obvious that the new Government will not have at its disposal a Navy and Air Force sufficient to defend even itself.

G. You are exaggerating the position. It is true that the Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force have to be greatly developed before they can be considered efficient parts of the armed forces of an independent India. But while they are being developed new India will certainly make other arrangements, for example by treaty with Britain, for having at its disposal their Naval and Air units to help her in defending the country. Defending the country will include defending the Indian States as well and it should not be impossible so to make arrangements with Britain that the new India Government will be in a position to implement the obligations of paramountcy which it will inherit from the British power. Again, you surely do not think that in protecting Indian States British power had to place any reliance worth mentioning on the Navy and Air Force. That protection was largely given by the Indian army and even from the commencement of the new regime, we shall have, according to the Commander-in-Chief, an Indian Army which would be quite capable of providing fully for the internal defence requirements of the country.

C. There is the other point that the treaties were made by the British Crown and therefore except with their consent the obligations could not be transferred by the Crown to any other authority.

G. I have already said that you have effected these transfers twice in recent history. On the first occasion the Rulers of States were not even consulted, I believe. That was in 1858 when the Crown took over the relations with Indian States from the East India Company and administered those relations through the Governor-General in Council, that is the Government of India. In 1935 this arrangement gave place to a new one under which the Crown withdrew the powers from the Governor-General in Council and vested them in a Crown Representative. Under independent India both the Governor-General in Council and the Crown Representative will presumably disappear. Their places will have to be taken by the new Government of what is now British India. If the transfer of paramountcy to this new Government could be effected with consent of Indian States and on terms, perhaps, which might be made more acceptable to them than those on which paramountcy is exercised today by the Crown Representative it will all be to the good, but if all or some of the States should hesitate as regards this transfer it has to be made in spite of such hesitation, for otherwise not merely the defence and foreign policy of India, but even the efficient internal administration of common economic and other matters will become almost impossible.

C. Formerly it was the Governor-General that was controlling the Indian States.

G. You are mistaken. The authority that was in law responsible for the conduct of relations with Indian States was, from 1858 to 1935, the Governor-General in Council and not the Governor-General.

C. But then the Governor-General under that system was an autocrat and exercised all powers.

G. That may have been so but I thought you were placing insistence on the letter of the treaties and on the legal position as regards the obligations of paramountcy and you cannot deny that from those two points of view the authority concerned was the Governor-General in Council and not the Governor-General up to 1935.

C. Have nothing more to say on the subject of Indian States.

G. There is one point I would like to draw your attention to. The enormous proportions which communal tension has reached in the country are directly traceable to separate electorates. You cannot have healthy political life in any country where the electorates which should exercise the sovereign controlling power are based upon religion, race, creed or caste. If in connection with the negotiations you are now engaged in, it is possible as part of the agreement which you propose to see arrived at between the parties you can put pressure on them for substituting joint electorates for separate electorates, it will be a service of incalculable value to the future political development of India.

C. I am all with you as regards separate electorates. But don't you think that we should rather not touch that question but leave it to the Interim Government and the constitution-making body ?

G. The immediate matter for settlement no doubt is the issue of Pakistan, the formation of an Interim Government and the convening of a constitution-making body. But I thought it would be helpful to the Interim Government and the constitution-making body if while pressure is being applied on both parties for a settlement on the major issue of Pakistan this important problem of electorates is also tackled and that even if a final decision is not arrived at on it now the way could be paved for a fairly satisfactory solution at the proper time. Let me add that separate electorates are unhealthy not only to the Government of a united India; in fact if Jinnah has his way about Pakistan—which God forbid—separate electorates will prove a greater headache to Pakistan than to Hindustan. The Muslim minority in the Hindustan of Jinnah's conception will be 20 millions against a Hindu population in the same area of about 150 millions. On the other hand the non-Muslim minority in Pakistan will be 44 millions against a Muslim population therein of about 70 millions.

C. Oh! That is Jinnah's Pakistan ! It is an impossible idea. To think of setting up a new State of Pakistan with so heavy a Hindu minority of 44 millions which will always be in opposition to the Government of Pakistan ! It is inconceivable. I think you will agree that this question of electorates is left over for decision by the constitution-making body.

After a few final words of courtesy we parted. At the door Sir Stafford said he hoped he would have an opportunity of meeting me again and added with a twinkle in his eye "before we leave this country at the end of July". I turned round to him and said, "July !" Sir Stafford then said, "I do hope we shall be able to leave earlier but I thought I would mention a safe limit !"

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

457. LETTER TO A. KALESWAR RAO

NEW DELHI,
April 10, 1946

MY DEAR KALESWAR RAO,

I have your letter. If all that you say about the state of affairs in Andhra is correct it is terrible and only Andhra people themselves can put things right.

Your defence of Shri Prakasam is wholly unwarranted by facts. If every Congressman were to make use of money presented to him by the public for personal needs the Congress as an organization would cease to exist. I have not known such a thing during the long course of my public life.

I met and had a long talk last night with the Madras M.L.A.s of whom Shri Prakasam was one. His philosophy of the correctness of which he is convinced appals me. I have gone so far as to tell him that he should take a back seat, i.e., not dream of taking a ministership and not even retain his seat in the legislature. You and he may think differently and even the Congress working Committee may not subscribe to my views. But I have suggested that he should seek the decision of the Working Committee in this matter.[1]

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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458. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

"VALMIKI MANDIR",
READING ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
April 10, 1946

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

I have received your long exposition with which I heartily disagree. The worst form of receiving money you have considered to be the best. It is a pity that you do not see the danger behind it. I tried to explain but I failed.

There were two things which I did not want to discuss in the midst of the company we had last night. You had from the Congress a sum of money which you never returned; similarly, from the Provincial Congress Committee, which also you did not return. This news has come to me without seeking. If the information is wrong, you will tell me. If it is not, you will see how wrong it was.

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[1] *Vide* also pp. 242, 254-5 and the following item.

The *Swarajya*[1] affair also seems not to have been creditable.

All these things have come to me after our correspondence. I wish you would make a clean breast of all your affairs and produce an accurate account of all your doings. If they have been questionable, or if there is anything that cannot be defended by sane people, you should retire into private life and think out what your obvious duty is.

It grieves me to write this letter and yet I must if I am to be absolutely frank with you. I would have discussed these things with you if we had met. But I cannot now after the attitude you took up last night. I have not the heart to do so.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI T. PRAKASAM
NEW DELHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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459. DRAFT FOR H. L. SHARMA AND L. N. GADODIA

[April 10, 1946][2]

We have mutual complaints. We entrust the responsibility of settling the dispute to Shri Kanhaiyalal Munshi, advocate, Bombay. We shall accept his decision and take it as the final judgment. To this end we shall send our questions and answers to Munshiji through Gandhiji; and if Munshiji wants to ask us anything, we shall present ourselves wherever he says and shall produce the witnesses if they are there. We request Munshiji to be good enough to give his decision within three months of the receipt of our questions. If the decision is sent to Gandhiji it will be understood as having been sent to us.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Of which the addressee was editor

[2] This was signed by Gadodia on April 10, 1946, and by Sharma on April 11, 1946. The draft bears the instructions: "Two clean copies of this are needed. Let Munnalal do the copies today."

460. LETTER TO KALA VENKAT RAO

April 13, 1946

MY DEAR VENKAT RAO,

The inference is wholly unjustified. I have never wavered in my opinion that Shri Prakasam should not become minister, for his own sake and for that of the nation. I have even advised him to retire from the Legislature.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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461. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

DELHI,
April 15, 1946

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have instructed Rajkumari to reply to your letters. I cannot even write letters, because there is no time.

I have been thinking about Dilip. I have talked over the matter. I had a long talk with Usha's father as well. I feel the girl is nice. I even had a talk with her. The father says that the boy and the girl may meet and marry if they feel so inclined. As I am writing this, Sushila gives me your letter. Seeing that your letter is in English, it occurs to me that the matter should be kept from Delhi. I find the talk of dark and fair irksome. And I would not be happy if the decision to marry was guided by consideration of external beauty. Now you may do whatever you think fit. We should not do anything by which the father and daughter may be left in the lurch. Hence write to me a prompt reply.

Are you still having allergy rashes or have they subsided ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The addressee in his letter had objected to T. Prakasam's inclusion in the Cabinet.

462. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

HARIJAN MANDIR,
NEW DELHI,
April 18, 1946

DEAR PRAKASAM,

I wrote the enclosed note[1] for *Harijan*. It absolutely represents my confirmed view which I told you personally. But the members of the Working Committee were here last night, among them Pandit Nehru and others. They had seen a copy of my note and they all thought that I should not publish it. I defended it strenuously but on turning it over in my mind last night I came to the conclusion that I would be taking perhaps an undue advantage of my public position to air my personal view. Instead, therefore, of allowing the note to be published in *Harijan*, I feel I should satisfy my conscience by sending a copy to you and letting you make what use you like of it. I would, however, like to emphasize the fact that if you allow yourself to be chosen as Prime Minister or hold any office or even be a member of Parliament, it will be bad for the country and of course for yourself.

As I have said in the note, it will be apparent to you that your reconsideration against your ministership of your philosophy will be perfectly valueless and ludicrous.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI T. PRAKASAM
RAJAH STREET
THYAGARAYANAGAR
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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463. TELEGRAM TO V. S. SANKARAN[2]

April 18, 1946

REGARD ME EQUAL SHARER IN YOUR LOSS BUT CAN MAN LIKE SASTRI DIE. HE LIVES IN HIS WORK.[3]

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXIV, p. 7.

[2] In reply to the addresse's telegram of April 18, 1946 which read : "Regret inform you my father V. S. Srinivasa Sastry expired tonight tenforty five."

[3] For Gandhiji's tribute to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, *vide* Vol. LXXXIV, p.19.

464. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

HARIJAN MANDIR,
NEW DELHI,
April 20, 1946

MAULANA SAHEB,

Read the enclosed clippings. Whatever is written about me is without foundation. I have not expressed my opinion to anybody. When one or two members of the Committee asked me about it I told them that it is not proper to have the same president. In fact I feel unhappy that a Muslim should remain president at this juncture. If you agree with this view I would like you to read the enclosed clippings. You should issue a statement announcing that you do not wish to remain the president. It would be appropriate if some other person becomes the president. Badshah Khan's name had already been proposed but I strongly opposed it. I even had a discussion with Badshah Khan.

If my opinion were sought this time, I would prefer Jawaharlal. There are several reasons for it. I do not want to go into them.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Urdu : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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465. LETTER TO H. M. HYAT

NEW DELHI,
April 20, 1946

MY DEAR HYAT,

I have your letter. I noticed your absence but how was I to know that your illness was the cause ? Now get well soon.

If the luck is hard, who can rectify it ? I am doing all I can. But who can understand God's ways ?

Young Shaukat[1] will never fight against his brothers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Addressees's son

466. LETTER TO RAJA SURYAPAL OF AWAGARH

NEW DELHI,
April 20, 1946

RAJA SAHEB,

Your letter is good but it is next to impossible for me to go anywhere for the present. Once the work here is finished I shall have to go directly to Poona. I am not in a condition any more to break journey anywhere on the way. The best course for you would be to read and ponder what I have written and then put into effect as much of it as you can digest in your own life and in the affairs of your state. The moment *Ramarajya* has been established in Awagarh, I am certain it will attract me like a magnet. You should also have that faith.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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467. LETTER TO AFTAB IQBAL

NEW DELHI,
April 24, 1946

KHAN SAHEB,

I have your letter. I do not wish to enter into a prolonged correspondence with you.

I possess no sword, nor do I wish to possess one. Those whom I can persuade will never use the sword.

As for the advocates of Pakistan, they say "we shall fight and have it." If that is the case, it is they who will draw the sword.

The despatch in the *Barq* supports my case.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

468. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

April 25, 1946

MY DEAR LOTUS-BORN,

Your congratulations wanted for my exemplary patience in deciphering your indecipherable love-note. You robbed me of my precious 15 minutes. Have I done sufficient penance for my not knowing in time that you were behind Indu last Sunday ?

Of course Lotus will have some time from me on 29th although it is my silence-day.

Love.

BAPU

LOTUS-BORN
NEW DELHI

From the original : Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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469. TELEGRAM TO DHIRUBHAI B. DESAI

April 28, 1946

JUST LEARNT FATHER[1] SINKING. HOPE PATIENT WILL RALLY. IF CONSCIOUS TELL HIM THINK OF GOD AND NOTHING ELSE.

LOVE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Bhulabhai Desai who died on May 6, 1946; *vide* Vol. LXXXIV, p. 106.

470. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

New Delhi,
April 29, 1946

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

Lawrence told me last night that you had written to him suggesting some alterations in his letter and that he had sent you a reply.[1] What is all this ? I could not say much in the matter but I did not like it. I am perplexed. It looks like I shall have to go to Simla. The mind shrinks from the thought. I feel somewhere in some way we are committing a mistake.

You must also consider what you intend to do after the British army withdraws. I cannot quite see what you could do.

You have announced that the present Working Committee will continue till November and you will continue as president till then. If you must continue, it does not seem proper that you should do so by a ruling. Giving such a ruling seems to me dangerous thing to do. If it becomes a duty to continue this can be done only through fresh elections. This matter deserves consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Pethick-Lawrence in his letter of April 27 to Abul Kalam Azad had invited Congress for discussions on the basis of a scheme which, *inter alia*, envisaged "two groups of Provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu Provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim Provinces" with residuary "sovereign rights". Azad had objected to the classification of the Provinces in terms of "predominantly Hindu and predominantly Muslim" and also to the term "sovereign" being applied to the residuary rights. Pethick-Lawrence in his reply of April 28 expressed his inability to make any "textual alterations" in the proposal as conveyed in his letter.

471. LETTER TO SUSHILA PAI

[After *May 2, 1946*][1]

CHI. SUSHILA,

Why do you fall ill ? Are you careless about the diet? Do you take no vegetables other than potatoes? Write to me in detail. Read this letter[2] and return it to me when I come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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472. LETTER TO MAJOR SHORT

May 4, 1946

DEAR MAJOR SHORT,

I have your letter and the note on procedure.

The note is something quite different from what you said yesterday. For one thing it does not contemplate independence. It seems to take Pakistan for granted. As I said yesterday nothing can be done so long as the British Army of occupation remains. The people can't be natural so long as their territory is occupied. Therefore there is no meeting-ground in the note.

You wanted my reaction to what you have sent me and I have given it in the briefest terms possible.

I am sorry to disappoint you. But it is the best thing for both of us that you and I should speak frankly to each other.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

TO
MAJOR SHORT
SIMLA W.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] & [2] This is written on a letter from Premabehn Kantak dated May 2, 1946.

473. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

SIMLA,
May 5, 1946

CHI. MRIDULA,

I have your two letters. I am not in a position to take up any outside work. Let us see what happens there. Sucheta has undertaken the work at Zaria. Look after your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11258. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

474. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SIMLA,
May 6, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

Brajkisan has written to you. I shall keep a regular diary. I started it the very day you left. I see now that it was for the best that all of you went.

You will have received the two items I sent yesterday — one Gujarati and the other Hindustani.

See that the family left there works together in harmony. Let no one be a burden on the Harijan colony. Let everyone be of help. Let all participate in all activities there — at least in such work as washing the vegetables or grinding the corn or cleaning.

Where will Sushila's engagement take place ?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am sending Vinod's letter on to you. Post it. I think it is only right that you go through it before it is posted.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

475. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

SIMLA,
May 9, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

I am caught up in a lot of work. Whatever has happened is for the best. You should not work at the cost of your health.

I have understood about Vinod. Let us see what she does now.

I remember all about Mahuva. You need not send the letters to me. You had seen the letter I wrote, hadn't you ? There is no reply to that letter. Vinod can do a lot if she gets to understand. But let us leave everything in the hands of God. Let us make the best possible efforts. You did well to send me the Gujarati weekly. I shall not be able to read it before this letter is posted.

Let me know how many copies of the Urdu issue have sold, if any figures have been received. How did you like the types ? How did Dev react ?

I am enclosing with this a letter to Sushila. Read it and send it to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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476. *LETTER TO HAMPT*

SIMLA,
May 11, 1946

DEAR MR. HAMPT,

I have your long letter. It is difficult to give precise advice through communications. All I can say is that you should have a judicious fast under some medical observance, living when you feel really hungry on glucose-water with an ounce of juice of fresh limes, as often as your system requires it. Dates are contra-indicated. If you are able to take sufficient glucose you will sustain your strength and go through your work. Nothing else should be taken. The fast can be continued for a fortnight or longer under medical advice.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

477. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SIMLA,
May 11, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

I receive your letters regularly. I have received two articles today. I have slightly corrected one of them. See the changes. I am sending the matter about salt as it is. Print it in two instalments or all in one go. That will then take up all the space. There is a short article by Shriman. Print that also.

A note about salt was to be issued from here, but it was bad. I wrote a letter. As a result, I have to go and meet someone today. I send you a copy of the letter.

The conference is also meeting today. Something more will be known.

Sushila's address is of course c/o Pyarelal Gupta. But now letters will not reach her. She will be leaving Bombay on the 13th, won't she ? Give her the letter when she arrives.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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478. DRAFT LETTER TO LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE[1]

May 25, 1946

I have to answer your letter of 22nd instant which was read to my colleagues. They wanted me to refer at the time of acknowledging your letter to some of the points in it.

1. You yourself admit that your scheme is a recommendation. Therefore at no stage can there be any compulsion read into it. The Congress has never taken the power nor has it any desire to compel a single unit. And I know, as a matter of fact, that neither the Frontier Province nor Assam nor the Sikhs of the Punjab will submit to any compulsion. They have signified their intention of not joining any group whatsoever. All I wish to say is that the scheme cannot be used for the purpose of compelling acceptance by any unit or group. The whole

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[1] Gandhiji had prepared this draft for Abul Kalam Azad.

beauty of it resides in its voluntary character which should not be impaired.[1] But, of course, it will be open to all persons and parties in the Constituent Assembly to reason with any units. Naturally the decision on major communal issues will be guided by the provision thereon of the Statement.

2. As to the last three lines of paragraph 3 of your letter, obviously, adequate provisions for the protection of minorities must be part of the instrument of the Constituent Assembly. But I assume that the Constituent Assembly will be the sole judge of adequacy.

3. Willingness to conclude a treaty will always be there. But the treaty must be a voluntary act on the part of Independent India. If it presupposes compulsion, there is no Independence.

4. As to the last paragraph of your letter, I can understand the postponement of the declaration of legal independence till after the publication of the charter of independence framed by the Constituent Assembly. But I cannot understand the paragraph, if independence in fact does not take place immediately the contemplated interim government is established.

5. Have you any objection to the release to the Press of our correspondence, i.e., my letter of 20th May, your reply of 22nd May, my letter of even date and your reply thereto ?

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

479. DRAFT TELEGRAM TO LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE[2]

MUSSOORIE,
May 29, 1946

AM ANXIOUS NOT CAUSE YOU DELAY FROM CONGRESS. WOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO KNOW WHEN MISSION WILL BE IN POSITION PRESENT FULL PICTURE IN TERMS OF MY COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION OF 24TH[3] AND MY LETTER OF 26TH INSTANT. I ASK THIS IN ORDER TO ENABLE ME TO CALL WORKING COMMITTEE IN TIME.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The addressee in his letter had said that grouping was "an essential feature of the scheme which can only be modified by agreement between the two parties".

[2] This was drafted by Gandhiji for Abul Kalam Azad.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXXIV, Appendix XII.

480. LETTER TO RADHABAI

BIRLA HOUSE, MUSSOORIE,
May 30, 1946

DEAR RADHABAI,

It is only today that I am able to take up your letter of 22nd March last.

Of course you are quite right in removing from your typed copies the names of the writers. Two extracts do not require any comment from me. A part of the third I felt deserved some notice. You will, therefore, see it in *Harijan*.

I am afraid that mine in such matters is a voice in the wilderness. It is also ill expressed. But I know that I am voicing the truth. Whilst I appreciate personal bravery I intensely dislike masses of men turned into a huge mechanical machine for destruction.

Blessings from
BAPU[1]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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481. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

MUSSOORIE,
June 5, 1946

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have received your telegram. I can see that you are not at all willing to leave Bombay. It would become a little cooler there during the monsoon but I do not think it can be of much benefit to one in your situation. There are hill-stations like Kasauli, Dharampur, etc., in the mountain ranges of Simla. If you spend two years there, even that would help. And those hill-stations provide fairly good facilities. Of course, there are many inconveniences and so one has to consider it carefully. But if you are calm and cheerful within, I have nothing to say.

I shall leave here on the 8th so that I can be ready for the 9th. Let us see what happens.

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[1] In Devanagari

As the reciting of Ramanama is for you, so it is for me and everybody else. That medicine is constantly working, but only those who know it can profit from it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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482. TELEGRAM TO LAKSHMIDAS ASAR

June 6, 1946

LAXMIDAS
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI

YOUR TWO WIRES. SORRY ABOUT MARUTI'S DEATH. HOPE LAXMI WILL LISTEN AND COME HARIJAN ASHRAM. WRITING YOU AND LAXMI.[1]

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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483. TELEGRAM TO LADY CRIPPS

[After *June 11, 1946*][2]

LADY CRIPPS
CARE VICEROY
NEW DELHI

REGRET NOT MEETING YOU AGAIN AND SEEING YOUR DAUGHTER. HAPPY YOU HAD SATISFACTORY TIME CHINA AND THAT BOTH ARE QUITE WELL. MY LOVE WHOLE FAMILY.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 296-7.

[2] From the reference to Gandhiji's meeting with Lady Cripps, which presumably took place on this date; *vide* Vol. LXXXIV, p. 318 *fn.*

484. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

N. D.,
June 21, 1946

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. Brajkrishna spoke to me about the girl. I said that he should have direct dealings and not involve me in the matter. Then I forgot it altogether. Do not drag me into it. Dilip must make the choice, certainly not I.

I am interested in your recovery. I would rather consider how best you can recover fully. That is something on which my mind can work, not on matters like betrothal, etc.

Things here are becoming complicated.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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485. DRAFT TELEGRAM TO MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR[1]

June 27, 1946

YOUR HIGHNESS KNOWS THAT AT THE REQUEST OF MY WORKING COMMITTEE PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU SUSPENDED WORK OF HIS MISSION IN KASHMIR AND GAVE US THE BENEFIT OF HIS PRESENCE. MY COMMITTEE STILL UNABLE SPARE HIM FOR SOME TIME. MEETING A.I.C.C. FIXED FOR SIXTH JULY BOMBAY. I WOULD THEREFORE ASK FOR FURTHER POSTPONEMENT OF TRIAL SHEIKH ABDULLA OTHERS PENDING PANDIT NEHRU ABSENCE. I HAD INTENDED TO COME KASHMIR IMMEDIATELY TO SEE WHETHER I COULD BE ASSISTANCE TO STATE BUT URGENT CONGRESS WORK PREVENTS ME FROM GOING KASHMIR IMMEDIATELY.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Addressed to Hari Singh, this was drafted by Gandhiji for Abul Kalam Azad.

486. TELEGRAM TO DADOO AND NARANSWAMY

June 27, 1946

SORRY ABOUT VIRAMMA'S[1] DEATH. CONDOLENCES FAMILY.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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487. TELEGRAM TO CARDEN NOAD

June 27, 1946

CARDEN NOAD

ENQUIRY REVEALS HARIDAS MITRA'S MEMORIAL NOT REACHED VICEROY. SENDING MY COPY TODAY. PLEASE SEND ONE ALSO DIRECTLY.[2]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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488. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

READING ROAD, NEW DELHI,
June 27, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of 5-6-46 arrived here on the 22nd. Gandhiji is so very overburdened that he literally does not get time to look at his post. I read out your kind thoughts to him day before yesterday and he has asked me to acknowledge your letter with thanks. You will understand that he is too busy to write himself.

The three months since the British Cabinet Mission came out have been long and anxious. It is with sorrow that Gandhiji has had to admit — as you may have seen in the press — that his mind is clouded with doubt. Where there was light there is darkness at the moment. Things have not gone as we hoped they would. Circumstances have tipped the balance on, as we think, the wrong side. However, as Gandhiji says, if we have the requisite faith and our own actions are motivated by pure impulses, we must believe that whatever happens is for our ultimate good.

It was good to hear of Devdas's valuable work from you. He ought soon to be out here again.

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[1] A passive resister in South Africa, wife of C. K. Thambi Naidu; *vide* also Vol. LXXXV, pp. 92-3.

[2] *Vide* also Vol. LXXXIV, p. 374.

Gandhiji is amazingly well. Louis Fischer who sees him after four long and difficult years finds him better than in 1942.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A.K.

THE REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
10 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y

From a copy; Pyarelal Papers Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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489. NOTE TO PYARELAL

[After *July 1, 1946*][1]

I think I can go through it just as it is. If I cannot I shall return it. There is so much else going this time that it is better not to send this. I must give it adequate time. And tomorrow there is much else I have to write. You must get into the habit of getting the matter ready early. You will have seen for yourself how I have revised it. It could be made much shorter, more interesting and more precise. That cannot be done now. If you keep it for next week and work on it early then it can be done. I shall also help.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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490. LETTER TO BAKSHI TEK CHAND

POONA,
July 2, 1946

BHAI BAKSHI TEK CHAND,

Rajkumari showed me your letter. There is no need to consult any other lawyer in Bombay. It is enough that you are there. I remember Dr. Gopichand had written to me. But I have forgotten what the letter contained. When I go to Sevagram I can look for it. Whatever the case, draft a short deed and send it.

Nothing much of importance can be done about the matter today because the communal harmony generated during 1919-20 does not prevail at present. Hence, our duty today is to protect the property and use it in a manner that does not lead to friction. It should also be kept clean. Anyhow you have been there from the very beginning and you have been the chief worker. Hence, write to me whatever thoughts occur to you. I shall no doubt be seeing Jawaharlal and others but they will be so busy with other things that it may not be possible to exchange views on this matter. If I am able to do anything I shall write to you again.

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter of July 1, 1946.

I appreciated very much your views on the issue that came up during the Cabinet Mission's visit. Similar views were expressed by others. I am making use of them all.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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491. LETTER TO AGNIBHOJ

POONA,
July 2, 1946

BHAI AGNIBHOJ,

I have your letter. You did well in writing to me. I think the C.W.C. is seized of the matter. I would say this much that either untouchability will be eradicated through a change of heart in the caste Hindus or the sin that is being perpetrated in the name of religion will destroy Hindu society.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

492. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

POONA,
July 3, 1946

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. How can I express to you all my views ? Whatever I have done, I have done with proper consideration and with Dilip's interest in mind. I think I have come to understand Kusum. Had it been necessary to intervene, I would certainly have done so. I have also met him. Now let things take their own course. Ultimately God alone knows what is good and what is bad.

Improve your health.

You did well in not writing about politics.

We may meet. Indications are that I may be coming there. If so, I shall be coming on the 5th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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493. LETTER TO SUJATA

[After *July 3, 1946*][1]

CHI. SUJATA,

I received your letter of July 3. I could not write to you then. I did not recognize the girl at first. Later I recognized her. She gave me your second letter. I am glad that you are working in the villages. May you be successful. Talk to Lavanyalatabehn about the aid from the Kasturba Trust. The Kasturba Trust confines itself to poor village women and their sons and daughters. There is also an age bar.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Inferred from the reference to the addressee's letter of July 3, 1946

494. RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE[1]

BOMBAY,
July 6, 1946

This meeting of the A.I.C.C., while it is grieved that it has become imperative for the Indian settlers in South Africa once more to offer Satyagraha in the land of its birth against a law imposing on them a colour bar far more sinister than the one against which they had put up a brave fight between 1907 and 1914, congratulates the handful of satyagrahis on their brave but unequal action against heavy odds.

This meeting is pleased to find that doctors and such other men and women are at the head of the gallant struggle and that among them are represented Parsis, Christians, Muslims and Hindus. This meeting is also pleased to find that a few white men like the Rev. Scott[2] have thrown in their lot with the satyagrahis.

This meeting condemns the action of some white men in resorting to the barbarous method known as lynch law to terrorize the satyagrahis into submission to the humiliating legislation. It is worthy of note that a large part of the Indians are born and bred in South Africa, to whom India exists only in their imagination. These colonial-born Indians have adopted European manners and customs and English has become like their mother tongue.

This meeting notes with great satisfaction that the Indian resisters are keeping their struggle free from violence in any shape or form and conducting it with dignity and without rancour and that they are thus suffering not only for their self-respect but for the honour of India, and by their heroic resistance setting a noble example to all the exploited people of the earth.

This meeting assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of India's full support in this unequal struggle and is firmly of opinion that persistence in it is bound to crown their effort with success.

This meeting appeals to His Excellency the Viceroy to use all his endeavours and ensure that of the British Government in aid of this struggle and invites the European residents of India to raise their voice in protest against white hooliganism and the anti-Asiatic and anti-colour legislation of South Africa.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] For Gandhiji's speech on the resolution, *vide* Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 422-3.

[2] Rev. Michael Scott, a white clergyman who had stood up against the inequality of the segregation laws and the ill-treatment of Indian settlers in South Africa.

495. NOTE TO BHIMSEN SACHAR

[After *July 7, 1946*][1]

Why does Sudarshan not make a written statement denying the accusation and saying his conduct has been pure ? If he does not say even that much, how can I write that the report I have received is false ?

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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496. TELEGRAM TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU[2]

July 9, 1946

YOU NEED NOT STAND. SARDAR HAS SEEN THIS.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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497. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[After *July 10, 1946*][3]

CHI. SUSHILA,

There was nothing from you yesterday. Shirin checks the blood-pressure in the morning. It was 170/100; at midday it dropped to 155/90 ; yesterday it was 135/100. It seems to have subsided now. Not a drop of rain. Everybody is distraught. Unemployment is rising.

The Working Committee meets from today. Let us see how much time I am required to devote to it. Amtussalaam is expected about the 12th. Rani Vidyavati of Hardoi is arriving today. Of course, Rajkumari is coming.

Sankaran is all right.

The two men to be sent to Panchgani are ready. One is from

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter of July 7, 1946.

[2] This was in reply to a telegram of July 8, 1946 from the addressee, a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, which read : "Working Committee has nominated me for Constituent Assembly. Kindly wire C/o Postmaster if this has your approval."

[3] This is written on the back of a note dated July 10, 1946.

Nalwadi and the other is a new arrival. I shall dispatch either of them today or tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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498. AN APPEAL

[After *July 10, 1946*][1]

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Thanks for the second purse from you. We are still short by a little amount, but I am told it will be made up in a couple of months or so.

I regard your contribution as the least you could do. I need your full assistance in the great task we have taken up here, which is no less than the all-round development of Uruli – physical, mental and spiritual. In this venture I need help from all, the old and the young, men and women and children too. We must forget the differences of caste and creed. Only then shall we be free from the three - fold torment. The seven hundred thousand villages of India will have some hope if Urulikanchan accomplishes this task.

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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499. LETTER TO S. RIDLEY

NATURE CURE CLINIC,
POONA,
July 11, 1946

DEAR MR. RIDLEY,

I am sorry that I am able only today to deal with your kind letter of 5th ultimo about sterilization of lepers. All the major principles mentioned in your letter are certainly commendable. Sterilization stands apart. Being a permanent disablement, it seems to be a highly deplorable measure. Its total effect on the delicate human system is still unknown. Man, in his hurry to secure immunity from outside, ignores the effect of his action on fellow man. I therefore, incline towards Dr. Cochrane's view that the real remedy lies in people gaining the right knowledge about leprosy and overcoming their hereditary but understandable repugnance towards lepers, whose power of infecting their neighbours is probably no greater than that of many other infectious cases. However, I am in touch with those who are in charge of the Sind Bill.

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[1] This appeal is scribbled on the back of a letter dated July 10, addressed to Amrit Kaur.

Yours sincerely,

S. RIDLEY, ESP. I.C.S.
COMMISSIONER, N. D.
COMMISSIONER'S BUNGALOW
AHMEDABAD NO. 4

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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500. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN NAOROJI

PANCHGANI,
July 15, 1946

DEAR KHURSHEDBEHN,

Though you have said your last letter does not need any reply, in my opinion it demands one.

I see that your ahimsa and mine are poles asunder. I have great regard for Jaiprakash but not for his views. Aruna allows herself to be my daughter. She is a brave woman. But views like hers would take the paupers to future starvation and death. That I commended their names and others to J.'s[1] attention was not because of their views but in spite of them in the hope that responsibility under J. would show them the error of their ways. But they chose the opposite course. I shall now watch their course. They are all a power.

I shall hug my darkness, not their light. There is, therefore, hardly any chance of my following them.

I wish you well. May God be your protection and guidance.

I write this to make my position clear. I love you too well to keep you in the dark about it. How I wish I have misunderstood you. You had made your position clear the other day when you met me for half a minute. Your letter under reply clinches the matter.

Of course you are at liberty to show this to our Socialist friends.

Love.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Jawaharlal Nehru's

501. LETTER TO SARAT CHANDRA BOSE

CAMP : PANCHGANI,
July 16, 1946

BROTHER SARAT BABU,

I write this in English so as to cause you less strain and be better understood.

I had long chats with Bela and Arvind. They feel deeply aggrieved by your treatment of them. It is not, as I could see, so much a question of money as of ill-treatment. They feel too that Amiya is the evil genius. As often happens among cousins they fight for no reason what soever. I wonder if this is such a case. Anyway, both Bela and Arvind are certainly disconcerted. They seem to have discussed the matter with Jawaharlal and Sardar. They appear to have said they can do nothing. I have advised them to put themselves at your disposal without any expectation of favour which they do not want. They say they want justice, they want to be treated as members of the family who have done no wrong to any of the members. They say they have been discredited without cause. This they resent bitterly. The issue is purely moral. This you should be able to fix up without any difficulty. They ought not to be cut off from the family, if they have been. I have given you an idea of what, as I see it, they feel.

I am sending them a copy of this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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502. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

July 19, 1946

YOUR WIRE.[1] SENT LETTER YESTERDAY. JUST RECEIVED LETTER FROM MINISTER ENCLOSING COPY MAHARAJA'S LETTER TO YOU. I CONSIDER THAT LETTER SATISFIES MINIMUM DEMAND. AFTER FINISHING WORK DELHI YOU SHOULD GO KASHMIR TAKING MAULANA IF HE WILL COME. INFORM MAHARAJA OF DATE DEPARTURE TELLING HIM YOU ARE AWARE OF BAN ON MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS ADDING YOU HAVE NO DESIRE TO DO MORE THAN MEETING SHEIKH ABDULLAH AND ATTENDING TO HIS DEFENCE. KEEP ME INFORMED OF YOUR MOVEMENTS.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Dated July 18, 1946, this read : "Have received no communication from Kashmir. In view Maharaja's recent speech as reported no change in policy indicated. Please advise about future action. Am going Delhi tomorrow."

503. TELEGRAM TO JOACHIM DIAS[1]

PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1946

YOUR WIRE. DOING ALL I CAN. GOANS SHOULD BE PREPARED SUFFER UTMOST. WRITING.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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504. LETTER TO JOACHIM DIAS

CAMP : PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1946

DEAR SHRI DIAS,

Your wire to Gandhiji came in yesterday and he has today sent you the following message[2] in reply.

" Your wire. Doing All I can. Goans should be prepared suffer utmost. Writing."

Gandhiji has written to the Roman Catholic Archbishop[3] in Bombay as well as to His Excellency the Viceroy.[4] Your ultimate success, however, lies in your own strength. Goans, he says, must be prepared to stand every hardship up to torture and death without retaliation.

Please keep Gandhiji informed of happenings in Goa.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI JOACHIM DIAS
PRESIDENT
GOA YOUTH LEAGUE
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] President, Goa Youth League, Bombay

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* the following item.

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXXV, pp. 22-3.

505. LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP, BOMBAY

CAMP : PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1946

DEAR ARCHBISHOP,

You must be aware of happenings in Goa.[1] I refer you to an account on page 6 of the *Bombay Chronicle* of 18.7.1946.

I received a wire[2] yesterday, a copy of which is in the *Bombay Chronicle* above referred to. Goan friends tell me that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Goa is actually party to the lawlessness there. This appears to me to be a matter needing investigation by you. I have no doubt that you can influence the Goan authorities in the way of peace.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF BOMBAY
BOMBAY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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506. LETTER TO MOTILAL SUNAR

July 19, 1946

Your wire does not give full information. Send details. Hope you have informed Jawaharlalji.

GANDHI

MOTILAL SUNAR
RATLAM

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The Portuguese authorities had been resorting to oppressive measures to deal with the Goans' demand for civil liberties. There were arrests and banishments, and meetings were forbidden.

[2] The telegram reported the arrest and detention of the Secretary of the Goa Congress.

507. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRA KAK[1]

PANCHGANI,
July 19, 1946

BHAI SAHEB,

Your letter of the 12th was received today. Thanks. The Maharaja Saheb's reply seems appropriate. Its success depends on your wisdom, tolerance and patience. I have observed that even good work can be spoilt by haste or some other mistake.

The Maharaja Saheb's speech, if correctly reported in the newspapers, is irksome.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar; also *Sardar Patel's Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 20

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508. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

July 21, 1946

YOUR WIRE[2]. I UNDERSTAND REASON FOR GOING 24TH. ANY DATE AFTER SEVENTH AUGUST WARDHA WILL SUIT.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Prime Minister of Kashmir

[2] Of July 20, 1946, which read : "Received letter from Viceroy today about Kashmir. Thereupon decided go there twentyfourth on brief visit as Abdullah's trial beginning twentysecond. Informed Viceroy Maharaja others my visit. Received your letter later. Consider change in programme not desirable now. Could early August suit you for Working Committee. Please wire suitable date place

509. TELEGRAM TO NAWAB OF BHOPAL

PANCHGANI,
July 21, 1946

H. H. NAWAB SAHEB
BHOPAL

THANKS YOUR WIRE[1]. MAHARAJAH'S LETTER TO PANDITJI LIFTS BAN FOR VISIT FOR SHEIKH ABDULLAH. THINK THIS SHOULD ENABLE HIM VISIT KASHMIR. YOUR WIRE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SENT IN IGNORANCE OF MAHARAJAH'S ABOVE LETTER. HOPE YOUR GOOD OFFICES WILL CONTINUE IN FURTHERANCE END DEADLOCK.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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510. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

PANCHGANI,
July 21, 1946

YOUR WIRE. HOPE RESISTERS WILL REMAIN FIRM TO THE END. EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BEING DONE THIS END.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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511. LETTER TO ARUNA ASAF ALI

PANCHGANI,
July 21, 1946

CHI. ARUNA,

I was not pained so much by your speech that day as by your visit later and the inquiry. You appeared to be putting up an act. You are not a goddess, nor do you want to become one. You should become an instrument of service, pure and simple. You are not an actress either. Beware !

---

[1] In this, the addressee had informed Gandhiji of his advice to Nehru to defer his visit to Kashmir.

This letter is a sigh of sorrow. Brajkisan will tell you more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original : C. W. 11338. Courtesy : Aruna Asaf Ali

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512. A TELEGRAM

July 23, 1946

MY BLESSINGS. NO GRIEF OVER INEVITABLE.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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513. TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT, PHALTAN STATE PRAJA PARISHAD

[After *July 29, 1946*][1]

UNABLE ADVISE. NO TIME FULL STUDY.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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514. LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

URULI KANCHAN,
DISTT. POONA,
August 1, 1946

CHI. SARALABEHN,

Your letter of the 29th addressed to Rajkumari reached today. I have come to Uruli for four days leaving Rajkumari and others at Poona. If anyone of them has any business with me, they will come and return in the afternoon in good time. I did not want to have a crowd here.

Your blood-pressure is very high. I cannot say I am wholly out of danger, but I think my blood-pressure is under control. Everyone does not have [high] blood-pressure for the same reason. [High] blood-pressure is not a disease in itself; it is a symptom of some other disease.

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram seeking Gandhiji's advice regarding participation of the States' people in the proposed union of Eight Deccan States which was resolved by the rulers in their meeting held at Poona on July 29, 1946.

It may, for instance, be caused by kidney trouble. A diseased kidney means the whole body becoming poisoned. Kidney trouble is caused by worrying too much or working under tension. In my view whatever the cause, fruit diet is an effective remedy. This should not include starchy fruits such as bananas. Oranges, pomegranates, pineapples and grapes are best. One must sleep well. To sleep is to rest. The fruits mentioned above may be taken as they are or their juice. They can be taken in either form. You may take gentle walks. There are also some exercises that one can do lying in bed. You should do such exercises. Along with this, if you enshrine Rama in your heart, I am sure your blood-pressure will be cured. Ramanama means having God in the heart in the form in which we worship Him. This is not superstition. This is scientific deduction. I shall not take you into the rationale thereof. I am writing this because I have known you as a saintly woman for many years which you are. I give no thought to the fact that you are the daughter of a rich father married to a rich man.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11150. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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515. LETTER TO PYARELAL

URULI,
August 1, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

I feel happy that here we have the *Gitai* and discourses in Marathi. It is absolutely peaceful here. No one disturbs me. Faces of Rajkumari, Sushila and Abha were around me. What does that mean ? We shall have to give thought to this place also. Anybody who wishes can come tomorrow after 3 o'clock.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

516. LETTER TO PYARELAL

August 5, 1946

CHI. PYA.,

God knows if some trouble has developed in the kidney. I feel in good health. My appetite is good, the bowel movements are good; the urine is also satisfactory. However, it is true that I overwork. The burden of *Harijan* is not a small one. The conditions in the country are also worsening day by day. Both these things should not affect me. I am very much alert. My position is that of किं कर्म किमकर्मेति[1]. I utter Ramanama but do not leave all to Rama. You may call it a disease. But now let us see what Sevagram does.

Do not worry. Take upon yourself the burden that you can carry. Let us abide by the wish of God.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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517. MESSAGE REGARDING PARSI RUSTOMJI HALL AND LIBRARY

NEW DELHI,
August 28, 1946

WISH PARSI RUSTOMJI HALL AND LIBRARY SILVER JUBILEE FUNCTION EVERY SUCCESS AND HOPE THAT LIBRARY HAS SERVED AND WILL CONTINUE TO SERVE USEFUL PURPOSE. HOPE SORABJEE HAIL AND HEARTY AND WILL PROVE WORTHY SON OF WORTHY FATHER. IF RESISTERS CONTINUE CIVIL RESISTANCE UP TO END WITH PERFECT DIGNITY SUCCESS CERTAIN.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] That is, inability to decide between action and non-action; *Bhagavad Gita*, IV, 16

518. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

HARIJAN COLONY,
NEW DELHI,
August 29, 1946

CHI. JAWAHARLAL,

We never have a moment to ourselves. I do not ask for it. You never have any time to spare. Nor do I have any. So a good many matters remain untouched.

I have before me your letter of the 20th. It came to me yesterday *via* Wardha. It dwells on the question of who should be the Congress President in view of the fact that you will be the Prime Minister. You incline in favour of Maulana Saheb. This I do not understand and cannot under stand. In my view, Maulana Saheb should not accept nomination. Maulana Saheb hesitates to accept ministership. The responsibilities of the President, especially in the present juncture, are I feel arduous. But in my view it is not the only reason why he should not be president. I cannot accept, too, that other than Maulana Saheb, Sardar Patel and Rajendra Babu, no suitable person can be found.

I cannot definitely say who else will be suitable because I am not any more in very close touch with the Congress organization.

One thing more. It is also a question as to who should be the President of the Constituent Assembly. I shall not write anything more about it now, because it is not certain whether the Constituent Assembly will meet. Once the Working Committee meeting is over I do not think it is necessary for me to stay on here or at Mussoorie. This hardly needs to be discussed at the Working Committee. Please consider and tell me what I should do. I shall do as you say.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have a great deal of work to do at Wardha. You may show this whole letter to Maulana Saheb.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

519. ADVICE TO THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT

NEW DELHI,
September 2, 1946

All credit to the Madras Government for being the first in the field, among the Provincial Ministries, to put forward a definite Scheme[1] for the reconstruction of our sadly neglected villages including, as the most vital and fundamental part of it, a large-scale scheme for the development of khadi. I appreciate the completely sincere faith in khadi which has prompted the Madras Government to offer their resources, on a scale without precedent, for the rapid development of khadi, but I am afraid they have not realized that the conditions necessary for securing the success of such a large-scale venture probably do not exist now, and that they have yet to be created by extensive propaganda by all genuine lovers of khadi, including the Provincial Ministers and members of the Provincial Legislatures. I am quite clear in my own mind that it would be extremely unwise to force the pace in regard to a matter like khadi, until the proper atmosphere has been created and has borne fruit in the form of a strong public demand from the villagers themselves, thus guaranteeing immediate success and giving lasting benefit from large-scale expenditure of the money and energy such as is involved in the Madras Government's scheme. The Madras Government seems to have underestimated the difficulties of securing enduring success in a field, steady progress in which has not been found too easy even by experts, namely, the All-India Spinners' Association. I am naturally most anxious that Shri Prakasam should not embark upon any Khadi Scheme, the success of which is not assured. If we try to move too fast, I have no doubt that we shall fail, and fail badly, and such failure will not only reflect discredit on the Government which has embarked upon such a venture without sufficient consideration, but will also do great harm to khadi work in general. It is, therefore, necessary, especially as expenditure of funds allotted from Provincial Revenues is involved, that we should be very careful before undertaking the work on a large scale.

2. I would accordingly advise the Madras Government to be guided in this matter by the only expert body in India which can claim intimate and long experience of khadi work, namely, the All-India Spinners'

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[1] The Khadi Scheme of the Madras Government which envisaged making villages as far as possible self-sufficient in cloth; *vide* Vol. LXXXV, pp. 378-9.

Association. Subject to my approval, the Association will select a group or compact groups of villages in which khadi has made some progress already, and which will, therefore, be a hopeful field for intensive work of the kind contemplated by the Madras Government. The khadi work in these areas should be done in accordance with a plan prepared by the Association, which the Madras Government should announce after finalising it in consultation with the Association. The plan will provide for allotment of the necessary funds by the Government, and also for the appointment, by them, of the necessary wholetime staff in consultation with the Association. The staff so appointed will execute the Scheme under the instructions and guidance of the Association.

If, as we all hope, this modest scheme succeeds, I shall gladly support proposals for its extension, with modifications if any suggested by our experience of its actual working, to other and larger areas.

3. I am requesting Shri Jajuji to prepare immediately, a scheme on the lines indicated above, in consultation with the Provincial Textile Commissioner, Madras, who will be meeting him at Sevagram for the purpose, on his way back to Madras. I shall ask Shri Jajuji to forward the scheme to Shri Prakasam after I have approved it.

4. I not only agree, but I am most anxious, that in these areas selected for the khadi work, all other items of rural reconstruction, as envisaged in Shri Prakasam's note dated 22-5-46 should also be tried simultaneously in consultation with the A.I.V.I.A. and the A.I.T.S.

5. In any event, and in order to create the proper khadi spirit, all schools and colleges under the Government should be instructed to devote at least half an hour per day to spinning together with the anterior processes, the charkhas or *taklis*, as the case may be, to be supplied by the Government, and khadi training schools be immediately established by them in consultation with and under the guidance of the A.I.S.A.

6. It should be remembered that the scheme I have in view does not contemplate any workshop for the manufacture of spinning-wheels, these being already in existence in the villages to be selected. The scheme also contemplates the manufacture of wheels and the like by the local village carpenters and blacksmiths.

M. K. GANDHI[1]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This is in Devanagari.

520. KHADI SCHEME OF MADRAS

[On or after *September 2, 1946*][1]

In my opinion the Madras Government would be well advised if they asked the Charkha Sangh as to how many *firkas* or how many villages and what area they are willing to take up at once and make self-sufficient as far as khadi is concerned. Government should only be responsible for finance and such other help as the A.I.S.A. may ask for.

The present scheme may sound well on paper but will become the usual top-heavy official scheme which will fail as it will not be of the people. The word compulsion may have been eliminated but there will be compulsion.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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521. LETTER TO S. V. VENKATESWARAN

BHANGI COLONY,
NEW DELHI,
September 3, 1946

DEAR SHRI VENKATESWARAN[2],

There is one thing which got inadvertently left out in the note you prepared and which Gandhiji amended and added to and signed for you to take to Shri Prakasam. Both Gandhiji and you forgot to mention the fact that in the former's opinion khadi and textile mills cannot go hand in hand. As you may have noticed I took notes of your conversation with Gandhiji and on referring to them I find he said as follows : "Prakasam, if he swears by khadi, cannot work hand in hand with mills. If Madrasis are satisfied with khadi, mills must go. No new ones must be allowed." As this is a very important item Gandhiji wants you to add it to the note especially as Prakasam has a scheme before him of allowing new mills to be started in Madras.

I am sending this to Shri Jajuji and asking him to hand it over to you if you are still in Wardha. Otherwise, he will send it on to you by post.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Textile Commissioner, Madras

522. *LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER*

NEW DELHI,
September 10, 1946

MY DEAR HORACE,

Muriel read your letter and gave it to me last evening. I am glad you have frankly given me your reaction to the situation in Calcutta.[1] I wholly endorse your first reaction. It is in every way undesirable for the Congress to rely upon British troops or even police for upholding authority and keeping law and order. It is tantamount to suicide.

I wholly dissent from the second. One can waive a right. Can one waive a duty ? And I regard it as a duty not to sacrifice a principle, here a nationalist Muslim. Surely it should be enough in all conscience that Congress accommodates a nationalist or rather a non-League Muslim without encroaching upon the Muslim quota or any minority interest. Nor can Congress be party to the recognition of the League claim that it is the only body that can represent Muslim interests and that the Congress is a communal organization representing only caste Hindus.

Your question is quite good. Congress is more than willing so far as I know to form coalitions in provinces as also at the centre.

Your thought of running to me even for a day was quite sound. You can fly to me in a few hours from Madras, assuming of course, that you have no objection to flying.

Love.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] On August 16, which the Muslim League had declared "Direct Action Day", savage riots had broken out in Calcutta; *vide* Vol. LXXXV, pp. 186-7.

523. TELEGRAM TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

NEW DELHI,
September 11, 1946

DR. SUSHILABEHN
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

NO NOTICE HERE. EVERYTHING THERE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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524. A NOTE

[On or after *September 12, 1946*][1]

It has been reported from Durban that your name is being freely used in support of a violent struggle in place of the present non-violent campaign being carried on in S.A. and the association of the Negroes, coloureds other Asiatics and presently some Europeans in the violent effort is being sought. I would like you to give your reaction to the rumour about yourself.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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525. LETTER TO SUSHILA NAYYAR

NEW DELHI,
September 17, 1946

CHI. SUSHILA,

You must be well. It will not do to fall ill. There is a letter from Manudi. I have kept it for you. She will be coming. Jaisukhlal will be coming too. Do not fall to the temptation of abandoning your work there and coming here. I would certainly be happy if you could come. Jivraj has examined me. I felt fine. The blood-pressure is 160/98.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SUSHILABEHN
KASTURBA HOSPITAL
SEVAGRAM
WARDHA

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The note is scribbled on a sheet bearing the date September 12, 1946.

526. TELEGRAM TO BAL D. KALELKAR

New Delhi,
September 19, 1946

Bal Kalelkar
Y.M.C.A.
25 Chowrangee Road
Calcutta

SUSHILA JUST ARRIVED. CEREMONY WARDHA. WE REACH WARDHA BEFORE FIRST OCTOBER.

Bapu

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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527. TELEGRAM TO BAL D. KALELKAR

New Delhi,
September 25, 1946

Bal Kalelkar
Y.M.C.A.
25 Chowrangee Road
Calcutta

POSTPONEMENT MARRIAGE INEVITABLE OWING SUSHILA'S HEALTH OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES. COME DELHI IF IMPATIENT KNOW CIRCUMSTANCES.

Bapu

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

528. TELEGRAM TO D. B. KALELKAR

NEW DELHI,
September 25, 1946

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR
KAKAWADI
WARDHA

POSTPONEMENT MARRIAGE INEVITABLE FOR SUSHILA'S HEALTH OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES. HAVE WIRED BAL ACCORDINGLY.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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529. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

"VALMIKI MANDIR",
READING ROAD,
September 30, 1946

I gave nearly one hour to Avinashilingam and probably over an hour next day to reading the papers you left with me on Basic Education and Village Industries. Both present an attractive though, in my opinion, a defective and expensive programme. I would like to warn you against going in for expensive programmes. That will betray a woeful lack of a knowledge of the realities in the 7,00,000 villages. It is not money so much as men that we want and if you have sincere honest workers who will work for love of service but not for love of money, success is assured. And you will get ten-fold return for the little money that you will have to spend.

Your educational programme is, in my opinion, far too ambitious. Basic Education cannot be started piecemeal — and to introduce a craft in the ordinary curriculum is to defeat the basic fact, viz., whole education through a craft, for Indian cotton craft. This is wholly different from education plus a craft or even spinning. Spinning you have to introduce in all schools and colleges, if the Khadi Scheme is to make headway. Shri Aryanayakum came in today. I must show this to him and let him write to you separately.

As to village industries, have you looked at the appendices ? If not, just see and you will realize the absurdity. Haste is waste. Think well before you act.

SHRI T. PRAKASAM
PREMIER
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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530. MESSAGE TO TAN YUN-SHAN

[On or after *October 1, 1946*][1]

Is not silent prayer better than a written message ?

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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531. LETTER TO PYARELAL

October 2, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

There is so much change in my ideas. The teacher should not look upon his pupil as his wife. But you were helpless. One's nature cannot be checked. So I have decided not to stand in your way. I wished Manu would come. I naturally wanted to know her mind better, and dispel her fears. I have decided not to stop her in any way if she wants to marry. I will not perform the marriage. Beyond that I shall put no restrictions. This is my position.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter of October 1, 1946 to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

532. NOTE ON INTERIM GOVERNMENT

[On or before *October 6, 1946*][1]

1. No reference to the Viceroy at any stage on any matter.
2. League to nominate all League quota of Muslims whenever vacancy occurs.
3. Congress to nominate other members including other minorities including nationalist Muslims.
4. Communal safeguards shall be decided by joint consultation subject to reference to arbitration in point of difference.
5. Vice-President to be from the Congress.
6. The Chairman of the inner cabinet to be the Leader of the House.
7. The Congress would like Q. A. to join the I. G.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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533. LETTER TO PYARELAL

[After *October 10, 1946*][2]

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have not written without thinking. You have high regard for your own knowledge. Hence, I feel like a child before you. How can I feel attached because you consider me your father and respect me ? The very fact that your mind is in turmoil shows that in spite of your having lived with me for so many years you are in anguish ! Whatever I say or do has no effect on you ! How much should I write ? To whom should I write ? I am defeated.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

My silence does not apply when visitors like Nawab Saheb, Maulana Saheb come.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] From the points listed in the note it is evident that they were set down by Gandhiji to be amplified by Jawaharlal Nehru in his letter to M. A. Jinnah, dated October 6, 1946; *vide* Appendix II.

[2] The letter is written on a paper bearing the stamp of this date "October 10, 1946".

534. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

BHANGI COLONY,
READING ROAD,
October 11, 1946

DEAR SHRI PRAKASAM,

I am writing to you under instructions from Gandhiji.

He has had a letter from a friend, whose name he is withholding, making certain complaints. I give the relevant extracts and Gandhiji would like to have your opinion on them.

(a) "An indescribable arrogance has entered into the mind and heart of 75% of Congressmen in the Madras Province which is arousing bitterness in all who are not Congressmen. . . . Some of them are blackmailing officials and others by openly approaching ministers and thus pretending that they could do anything with their influence."

(b) "Members of the Legislature are paid Rs. 150/- p.m. They also get a large daily allowance and travelling *bhatta* when they attend the Councils. As paid men they should do some work for the district they represent but they don't. . . . They are very prominent only when ministers visit the districts."

Yours sincerely,
AMRIT KAUR

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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535. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

NEW DELHI,
October 14, 1946

CHI. MANUDI,

You had left a letter here. I sent the reply the very next day. You would not have got it. It went to Udaipur.

I have your letter today. I was sorry to learn about Shankarlal's illness. It is good you two sisters went to Udaipur. Tell Shankarlal that he should quickly get well. It does not behove a scout to fall ill. Whatever the job he may be doing, he cannot cease being a scout.

Why is Umia feeling unhappy ? Bring her along with you. It is another matter if you yourself do not come.

I am not calling you to me to make you unhappy. You are not afraid of me, are you ? It can never be that I would make you do anything against your wishes. I only wish you well. I wish to see you healthy and well.

Now there is no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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536. LETTER TO MAULANA HIFZURREHMAN

NEW DELHI,
October 15, 1946

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

I have read all your papers. The attack is on me, not on Kripalaniji. If what I have always believed is a crime, then Kripalaniji is guilty.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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537. TELEGRAM TO SUDHIR GHOSH

[*October 1946*][1]

SUDHIR GHOSH

NARGISBEHN BROUGHT LETTER YESTERDAY. SUSHILA SEVAGRAM ATTENDING CHOLERA PATIENTS. HOPE VISIT BENGAL LAST WEEK OCTOBER. LOVE.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Bengal in the last week of October; he reached Calcutta on October 29, 1946.

538. LETTER TO PYARELAL

Silence Day [After *November 2, 1946*][1]

CHI. PYARELAL,

I understand nothing of this. What is a drop in the ocean ? What in particular can I ask ? What can I say ? That is why I said that you should tell me what you want to tell me so that my knowledge of the subject may be increased.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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539. A TELEGRAM

[On or after *November 23, 1946*][2]

DO PERFORM MARRIAGE CEREMONY BOMBAY. WISH WELL.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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540. LETTER TO PYARELAL

November 27, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your letter. It is good that you think that what I wrote was unnecessary. I do not think so. I do not understand what is painful in it ? Sushila has come now to see the patient she did not see yesterday. Whether it is anger or pain or both it is the same as before. Let me see what happens.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This is written on the reverse side of letter dated November 2, 1946.

[2] The draft of the wire is scribbled on the reverse side of a telegram received on November 23, 1946.

541. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

VILL. & POST. SRIRAMPUR,
"VIA" RAMGANJ, DISTT. NOAKHALI,
E. BENGAL,
November 30, 1946

DEAR PRAKASAM,

Sri Sriramulu has sent me his letter addressed to the Minister for Endowments, Madras. Therein he says he will fast from the 1st of January next, if your Cabinet does not bring forward a bill permitting Harijans in all public temples in your province when there is much overwhelming public support and demand. I thought there was some such Act already in your statute book. You will please let me know full facts.

I am dictating this lying on my back because I need frequent rest during the day from having to sit. The semi-fast of twenty-one days,[1] though it enabled me to do a little physical and full mental work, has weakened the body somewhat. No harm has been done.

SHRI T. PRAKASAM
PREMIER
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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542. LETTER TO AZIZ HUSSAIN[2]

SRIRAMPUR,
DISTT. NOAKHALI,
December 1, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for inviting me. There is no possibility whatsoever of my going to Lucknow and, even if I pass through Lucknow, of my staying there. However, I appreciate your invitation.

My wants are simple. All I need is good sanitary surroundings.

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[1] From October 30 to November 19, 1946; *vide* Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 82, 104 and 139.

[2] In reply to the addressee's letter of November 25, 1946, inviting Gandhiji to his house to spend a few hours with him while passing through Lucknow

Such food as I need I can cook for myself. Your request therefore is in no way unfair.

What is your occupation ? Why do you write to me in English ? Do you not know Urdu ? I send you my answer in English for fear you may be a foreigner in India, not knowing any of its languages.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

JANAB AZIZ HUSSAIN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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543. LETTER TO A. REDMOND

AS FROM SEVAGRAM,
"VIA" WARDHA (INDIA),
CAMP : SRIRAMPUR (BENGAL),
December 2, 1946

DEAR MADAM,

I have your letter of 11th ultimo.[1]

I am afraid I must not encourage you to visit India for the purpose of studying Buddhist or Hindu teachings which you can pick up from books. If it is Hindu life you wish to study, I must warn you against coming to India for that purpose because you hardly realize the reality unless you are able to probe deep enough. And for doing humanitarian work you certainly do not need to tour any part of the world to learn the art of doing it. It is the art of humanity which is needed and that you will find in all countries and under all climes. As I have lived in South Africa for twenty years I know that there is enough humanitarian work in front of one in South Africa. This is merely a warning against hopeless delusions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MRS. A. REDMOND

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] In which the addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission to visit India to study Buddhist and Hindu teachings so that she could do practical 'humanitarian' work amongst her fellowmen.

544. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

AS FROM SEVAGRAM,
"VIA" WARDHA (INDIA),
CAMP : SRIRAMPUR (BENGAL),
December 2, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I got your touching letter[1] yesterday. I had heard that you had aged considerably and that you were passing through physical suffering. I hope it was an exaggerated statement and that this will find you in enjoyment of health.

I understand and appreciate your remarks about Dr. Ambedkar[2]. I suppose you are aware that I know him very well and that I have met him often enough. He represents a good cause but he is a bad advocate for the simple reason that his passion has made him bitter and made him depart from the straight and narrow path. As I know to my cost, he is a believer in questionable means so long as the end is considered to be good. With him and with men like him the end justifies the means. Have you read his book ? It is packed with untruths almost from beginning to end. I am sorry to have to say this of a countryman who has himself been obliged to put up with insults which have embittered men mightier than Dr. Ambedkar. You need not take all I say as gospel truth. I have written this to you in order to give you my. . .[3] that if I do not go out of my way to seek contact with Dr. Ambedkar it is not for want of will or want of regard for you and friends like you but because I know that such seeking will, in my view, harm the cause[rather] than help it. No question of prestige will deter me from walking to him. I can say that the question of prestige has never interfered with my doing what I believed was a duty. I have laboured to show that in this case duty points the other way.

You are at liberty to share this letter with all mutual friends.

With regards to yourself and your wife.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The addressee in his letter of November 14, had referred to the bitter attitude of B. R. Ambedkar "largely directed against yourself" and asked Gandhiji to secure political justice for the untouchables. He had further asked him to invite Ambedkar to see him.

[2] B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956); leader of the Depressed Classes, jurist and author; in 1942 formed the Scheduled Castes' Federation; member, Constituent Assembly; Chairman, Drafting Committee for the Constitution of India

[3] Omission as in the source

545. LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

December 2, 1946

CHI. SARALABEHN,

I am able to attend to your letter only today. I have written to Jajuji.[1] He will write if there is anything more to be done. He will write to me if there is anything to be said. I am very happy by your acceptance. May your good act bear fruit.

I am glad to hear that Nirmalabehn's health is beginning to improve. You must recover fully.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11151. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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546. LETTER TO PYARELAL

December 3, 1946

CHI. . . .

I have written about this matter to Suhrawardy.[1] Read it when you come here. Write to Sir Datar Singh that I have written to the Premier. I shall inform him of the developments.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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547. LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY

SRIRAMPUR (EAST BENGAL),
December 4, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

Sardar Bahadur Sir Datar Singh of the Department of Agriculture, Government of India, New Delhi, writes to me to say that difficulty is being experienced in their land being restored to the Calcutta Pinjrapole Society. This was seized for military purposes evidently during the war period. The reason given for the refusal is that " the Provincial Government have under consideration a scheme for the development of the Kanchrapara area". I fancy that the decision about the development scheme must necessarily take a long time to make. When and if it is made there should be no difficulty in the Government appropriating the restored land. Meanwhile, it could be utilised for a benevolent purpose, namely, increase in the supply of milk for the city of Calcutta. Of course, the stipulation for restoration may well be made that the reverted land should be used only for the above purpose.

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, p. 103.

[2] ibid., pp. 185-6.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE HON'BLE THE PRIME MINISTER
(BENGAL)
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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548. LETTER TO E. STANLEY JONES

AS FROM SEVAGRAM,
"VIA" WARDHA (INDIA),
CAMP : SRIRAMPUR,
EAST BENGAL,
December 4, 1946

DEAR DR. JONES,

Dr. Nelson[1] was with me yesterday with Mrs. Alexander and we immediately became as old friends.. He gave me your letter which I had not read when I made myself at home with him. The reason for my not reading your letter there and then was that he was in the company of several friends and I was about to go to the prayer meeting[2] in which he took keen interest and wanted to read from a Pelican book in his possession, "Our God, our help in ages past" which I readily let him do, and at the close of the prayer the few words that I said to the audience consisted of a free rendering of the hymn he read but could not or would not sing. I have invited him to drop in again when he wished to which he said he would do in a few days time.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

REV. DR. E. STANLEY JONES
150 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Dr. William Stuart Nelson of Howard University, Washington. He had come for relief work in Noakhali on behalf of the Friends Service Unit.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, p. 187.

549. LETTER TO NAZIR

CAMP : SRIRAMPUR,
EAST BENGAL,
December 4, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your draft for 5,000 rupees on behalf of the Ahmadiya Community for relief to sufferers in the recent Noakhali disturbances. The amount will be used as earmarked by you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE NAZIR
UMOOR KHARIJAH
QADIAN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

550. LETTER TO HANNAH LAZAR

AS FROM SEVAGRAM,
"VIA" WARDHA, INDIA,
CAMP : SRIRAMPUR,
EAST BENGAL,
December 5, 1946

DEAR HANNAH[1],

I have your letter full of pathos and also full of news which I would not have got otherwise. I like your frankness. Who does not like life ? Therefore, it is no fault in you that you should like life and that you should have also likes and dislikes. But though these are common to mankind we have got to overcome them if life is to become rich in reality, and the memory of departed dear ones is to become a treasure. It can only be to the extent that it enables us to translate in our own lives the best parts of dear ones and Hermann undoubtedly had many such parts which we may copy with advantage. You should therefore try to do so.

I am glad you went to Phœnix to help Manilal when he was so much in need of your help. I am glad Isele has qualified as a doctor and that she has got a permanent job as house physician in the General

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[1] Niece of Hermann Kallenbach, Gandhiji's co-worker in South Africa

Hospital. Are you otherwise at peace with yourself ? Manilal will tell you that I am at present engaged in tackling the most difficult piece of work in my life and I am staying in a most inaccessible part of India at the present moment.

Do not hesitate to write to me whenever the spirit moves you. It is easy enough for me to promise not to write in reply every time I hear from you. This time I feel like writing in order to encourage you to write to me regularly and also to tell you that you have in me your best friend who will try somewhat to do what Hermann used to do so fully. You are bound to miss him as we all do. He certainly expected to come back to me had he lived. But God willed otherwise.

Love,

BAPU

HANNAH LAZAR
JOHANNESBURG

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

551. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

SRIRAMPUR,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
December 5, 1946

DEAR PRAKASAM,

I have your letter with enclosures. I have studied all the papers you have sent to me. Your statement appears to me to be in order so far as it goes. But I do feel that if the new policy[1] becomes popular with the masses, the concentrated production of cotton will become decentralised and distributed like khadi cloth itself and to that extent the Presidency will be the gainer, as the whole of India will, if it takes up the Madras policy, as it will, if Madras succeeds, as it ought to if the villagers take up khadi with zest. They will, if khadi becomes cheaper than unprotected mill cloth, as Shri Manu Subedar has shown from the figures, which I have printed in *Harijan*.

The argument in the cuttings you have been good enough to send me makes no appeal to me and if I get time from the heavy Noakhali work before me I shall write in *Harijan*. But I know nothing about the legal argument which, of course, you will get properly examined by the Advocate-General and other lawyers expert in the matter and, if the legal argument is against you, naturally you will resile from the position taken up by you. But I take it that you had the legal position carefully examined before you took the plunge.

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[1] Madras Khadi Scheme

But apart from the question of establishing new mills or expanding the old ones, how is the scheme progressing ? Have you already made the commencement ? How are the people concerned taking it ? Is the legislature overwhelmingly with you ? I am in such an inaccessible place that I get very few newspapers and they are local ones. I, therefore, know very little of what is going on outside Noakhali. Therefore Noakhali at present is my world and it is large enough for me.

Please keep me informed of what is going on about the scheme and do not hesitate to make concrete suggestions if you expect me to do anything concrete.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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552. LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY[1]

SRIRAMPUR,
December 5, 1946

A special messenger from the District Magistrate, Comilla, delivered your packet containing your two letters dated 2nd and 3rd instant respectively. I am glad that you are going to issue some such statement as suggested by me. In these days of fear, sometimes not without ground and sometimes groundless, no contradiction should be superfluous, much less appear foolish.

2. If "some mischievous Hindu young men have been throwing crackers and missiles at Muharrum processions", I would suggest that they should be brought to book.

3. I note that you have devoted a considerable portion of your letter of the 2nd December and the whole of the 3rd December to Bihar, and you have repeated the advice you have given me often enough that my place is rather in Bihar than in Noakhali. If I find any confirmation of the most serious statements made by you about Bihar, I confess that I have egregiously blundered by resuming normal diet.[2] But I am loath to reject the testimony of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, both responsible men and persons who had gone specially for the purpose of seeing things for themselves and

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[1] A fragment of this letter has been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVI, p. 195.

[2] ibid., p. 139.

allaying mob fury. They admit that the behaviour of the Hindu crowds was bad enough in all conscience but they do not bear out the statements made in your letter. Nor do they uphold the figure given by you. They also tell me that mob fury has subsided and that the Government have regained control undoubtedly with the assistance of the military. If I could feel that my presence was at all necessary in Bihar, I assure you that I would not need any encouragement from you to do so. On the contrary, my informants assure me that my presence is not required in Bihar. In these circumstances, unless I feel sure of my ground, I know that I must not go to Bihar. But I would like to make the assurance doubly sure and with that end in view I would be glad to get your permission to send copies of your letters to the Prime Minister of Bihar and know his reaction. There too you will pardon me, will you not, for not taking your statements as gospel truth. For one thing, you have no first-hand knowledge of events. I suggest that there should be an impartial commission, appointed with the consent of the two Governments, to go into the disturbances both in Noakhali and Bihar. If your statements are true and the callous behaviour of the Bihar Government, which you so graphically describe, can be sustained, it is a bad day for the Bihar Government, a bad day for the Hindus and good-bye to restoration of friendly relations between the two communities, and it would be a serious question for me to consider where I stand. The least I can permit myself to say is that then I should have no hesitation in publicly denouncing the Bihar Ministers and Bihar Hindus. I would plead with you to suspend, if you at all can, final judgment in the matter.

4. Now I come to Noakhali. I sent you a longish letter yesterday and I asked Satis Babu to arrange for its quickest delivery through a special messenger. I tried even to see if there was possibility of sending it by air but I failed. You have painted a rosy picture of things in Noakhali. I wish I could share your estimate. I have formed no judgment. I have passed on to you the purport of much of what is handed to me in writing and what is given to me by word of mouth. If the information imparted to me is correct, things are not safe enough in Noakhali. Hindus have not shed their fear and from what you say even the Muslims are not free from it. My business in coming here is not to sow or promote dissensions between the two. I regard myself, as I have ever been, an equal friend of both. I know that through no fault of which I am conscious I have lost caste in the Muslim League circles. No Muslim friend has yet been able to tell me what I have done to deserve that fate. I am in Noakhali to be judged by my conduct. My non-violence is at stake. Bear with me whilst I am groping. I am the same person

as I was when we met in Faridpur and later in Deshbandhu's house after his death. This much is enough for time being.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Wish you could show me a quicker way of reaching my letters to you, as they are likely to be important and probably frequent.

M. K. G.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

553. LETTER TO SATYENDU SUNDER CHAKRAVARTY

SRIRAMPUR,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
December 8, 1946

DEAR SATYENJI,

I was delighted to receive your letter not merely for its contents but also because you are the late Syam Sunder Chakravarty's son. I can never forget his features, his transparent sincerity and fearlessness. What you describe as my "unparallelled action" is really the natural and logical conclusion of the creed of non-violence which I hold as dear as life itself.

Do come whenever there is need to. Better come any day between 2 and 5 p.m. On Tuesday I have to be out at Madhupur.

Yours,

SHRI SATYENDU SUNDER CHAKRAVARTY
STAFF REPORTER
"HINDUSTAN STANDARD"
1 BURMAN ST.
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

554. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI

SRIRAMPUR,
NOAKHALI,
December 11, 1946

DEAR PROFESSOR,

Sucheta is still in Calcutta attending to her ailing sister. I have asked her not to hasten here so long as in her opinion her presence in Calcutta is necessary for her sister. She has not sent me the medical certificate but in her letters she says she will hand it to me when she comes. You may depend upon my not letting her overdo things to the damage of her health. I will see that she is quite safe with me.

Yours is no easy job. But probably it is more difficult than you or I had imagined. I do not think of the two letters of which you have sent me copies in the way you do. I think they are honest letters. Evidently, they have remained members of the Committee, but if I were you I would not insist on their remaining. I will take them at their word and have new blood with you, and I would say that if you find that you are unable to shape the organization in the best way possible and if they let you resign you should do so without a moment's thought. We can only think of the organization we serve and nothing else.

The friend who brought your letter and Sucheta's brought also a packet from Mridula. It contained copies of her note prepared for the Congress and another note prepared by her on her experiences of Garhmukteshwar. You must have seen both. I liked them. I read the note on the Congress organization only today. Her suggestions make a forcible appeal to me. I would advise you to ask her to see you and discuss all her proposals with you and enlist her services as also Keskar's[1] to the extent that they allow you to do so. I think that you should discuss her suggestions with Jawaharlal and let him take an active part in carrying them out. Whether he remains a member or whether he does not, I would not for one moment question his downright honesty. He promises to render all the help he can and I have no doubt that he will do so and perhaps more efficiently, because he would then enjoy freedom of action which he will not do otherwise. He is right also in his reflections on the Hindu-Muslim question. It is a terrible problem and a great responsibility rests upon the Congress now—therefore, the greatest on you.

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[1] B. V. Keskar

You have asked me to send for you if I want to. I am not likely to do so, but I do want you to feel that you are at liberty to come at any time you like without notice, if you want to consult me about anything. Personally I would say that you should do as your reason and conscience tell you, irrespective of what I may think or may not think. I am too much engrossed in the work before me to think of anything else, unless a letter like yours moves me.

Darkness around me still persists. It comes from within, not from without, but it certainly does not deject or disappoint me. I am passing through a fire such as I have never passed through before. All the same I am quite happy in the thought that I am not shirking what I hold to be my duty. God is the Rock of ages and I cling to that Rock.

Blessings from
BAPU

ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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555. TELEGRAM TO RAJBALI PANDE

December 14, 1946

PANDIT RAJBALI PANDE
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BENARES

YOUR LETTER RECEIVED ONLY YESTERDAY EVENING. AM CLEAR PANDIT KASHINATHJI'S FAST IS ILLEGITIMATE. HE SHOULD ABANDON.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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556. LETTER TO ASAF ALI

SRIRAMPUR,
December 17, 1946

DEAR ASAF ALI,

You are an old and seasoned Congressman. I know how you stood in the estimation of the late lamented Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari and what value Maulana Abul Kalam Azad puts upon you, not to mention the many important Hindu and other friends you have. It is well therefore that the Interim Government of India has chosen you as its first Ambassador in America. India has a right to expect you to represent the combined culture India's many religions represent. What is perhaps more, you will represent simple living and high thinking for which the National Congress stands, and of which you are a distinguished member.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From a copy: Asaf Ali Papers. Courtesy: Aruna Asaf Ali

557. LETTER TO PYARELAL

December 17, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your strange letter.

Whatever was important, you have settled while leaving. I know I cannot change your decision. I am not able to see my mistake. If I have made a mistake, it is your duty to point it out to me; and if you cannot do it, that is, if you cannot convince me, then you should follow my rule. If you are clear to the last moment, then there is no doubt that you should leave me. Now you may act and act quickly in the light of what you consider your duty. I have informed you that for me this is my severest test. If I do not do or die you must think me worthless. Then you may take it that my life is a burden.

You write that my confession was such a heavy punishment for Sushila that compared to that her keeping away without notice should be considered real mercy. This I cannot swallow. If that is so, then what I did in the case of Ba, my father and many other dear ones should be considered a mistake, is that not so ? Surely you do not wish to say that I made a mistake only in this case ?

You also realize that if I make a mistake again and having committed it, do not publicly correct it, there is no hope of success in my present work. Hence, I can do nothing else.

Though I may make a mistake and proclaim it to the world, yet the heaviest punishment is borne by one at whose cost the mistake is made ! ! ! How can that be so? Is there not something very wrong in this line of thinking ?

Suppose that A who is innocent is assaulted and abused by B. Then B repents and makes a public apology. In thus purifying himself B will have proved guilty and yet A will suffer, is that so ? That A's love may cause anguish to him is another matter. Such anguish is only for the good.

If you consider B's confession proper, there is no difference between him and me. Even if A is not innocent, B, who adheres to non-violence will not be proved innocent because by his own yardstick he has definitely been guilty. And anyone who has accepted my moral standard will say that it would be only proper that A also makes a public confession of his guilt.

Now, in deference to both of you, I have taken the only course possible for me. I have not mentioned anything in the diary. I do not give as much importance to my diary as you do.

Sushila of course insists that everything may as well be known to the public. But here insistence has no value because she says it out of anguish. She does not regard it as a duty. That is why I have not sent the note I had written to Nirmal Babu. I have torn it up. I have written to Sushila that her duty is to follow your advice; when you and I say different things, in my opinion she should do what you say. Now I have said everything that needs to be said. You may do what you consider proper.

Sushila is very deeply wounded. I have tried my utmost to pacify her. It may be good if you remain with her for the time being. I wish you would go to the village and stay with her. Both of you should together consider and decide what your duty is. The task this time is extremely delicate.

I have written all this after careful deliberation. This is the first thing I did after the morning prayer. Before this I wrote a postcard about Sriramulu and the first few sentences in the diary.

I must keep a copy of this, but probably you will not wish it copied in the diary. So you may return this to me or a copy of it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have sent replies to Asaf Ali's questions.[1] Read them when you get the copy. So, Sushila will be coming here on Saturday.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* pp. 325-6.

558. LETTER TO ASAF ALI

December 18, 1946

MY DEAR ASAF,

Here is the letter I drafted, and a copy typed and signed. You make what use you like of it. May I suggest that if you have not, you should now pick up the Hindi and Urdu forms of Hindustani in both the scripts—[Dev]nagri and Urdu. Herewith the letters for Aruna[1] and Jawaharlal.[2]

I am glad you came.

Yours,
BAPU

From a copy : Asaf Ali Papers. Courtesy : Aruna Asaf Ali

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559. LETTER TO SACHINDRA NARAYAN ROY

SRIRAMPUR,
NOAKHALI,
December 18, 1946

DEAR PROF. ROY,

I have just got your letter of 25th ultimo and read it. I am sorry I have not yet got your open letter. Therefore, I do not know its contents. You need not worry about the contents of that letter whatever they may be.

What you say about Nasrulla Khan Saheb is startling.[3] May I send your letter to him ? Are you able to prove the statement ? Is it possible to give the names and addresses and other particulars about the missing girls ? I have had such complaints from other sources but no particular have been forthcoming.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

PROF. SACHINDRA NARAYAN ROY
31 SHAH SAHIB LANE
DACCA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, p. 241.

[2] Not available

[3] In his letter the addressee had informed Gandhiji that K. Nasrulla Khan, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister had concealed and confined not a few but several abducted girls in the Muslim areas of the city.

560. LETTER TO N. G. RANGA

SRIRAMPUR,
NOAKHALI,
December 18, 1946

MY DEAR RANGA[1],

I have your letter of the 11th instant and the enclosures. You ask me not to wade through the latter but ask my Secretary to go through them and bring to my notice the most important things. You do not know what I am doing and where I am staying. If you did, you would not have dictated that letter, but I see that you are too busy to look at the daily papers or my poor doings in this part of the world. Well, I am in an out-of-the way village hamlet where many dwellings have been burnt down and the contents looted. I have deprived myself of secretarial assistance. I have a Bengali professor who has elected to become my interpreter and teacher and even gives me massage, etc. Parasuram of Malabar is with me by accident, and as he came to me as an expert short-hand writer and typist I make occasional use of him for taking down letters such as this. But generally he is in the charge of everything pertaining to my personal wants and I am sorry to confess that this business is so taxing and exacting that it takes the bulk of his time. But he is an uncomplaining, tireless worker, and as he had not had the opportunity of coming in personal touch with me during the two years he has been with me he loves the work that he is doing now and I love him. Other fellow-workers have been distributed at the peril of their lives in various burnt and looted villages in the attempt to bring the two warring elements together and bring, if human effort can, peace to this unhappy portion of India. I confess that it is not the only unhappy portion of India, but Destiny chose it for putting me or rather my ahimsa and truth on their trial and here am I undergoing that stiff but self-imposed test. Therefore, you see that either I must myself wade through your papers or neglect them for the time being. But I dare not take the second course for the reason that I invited the task, and I must not complain. I am half through the long documents. It is deeply human and interesting and for the love I have towards you I will like to give much more than cursory attention to the papers you have prepared with such elaboration.

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[1] President, All-India Kisan Sabha; President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee; Member, Congress Parliamentary Party; Founder-President, Swatantra Party

As so many trustworthy servants of the nation are up against you, I wish to suggest that you should, for the time being, neglect me and go your way honestly and therefore fearlessly, reposing the fullest trust in your honesty rather than on friends like me of doubtful value because of their national preoccupations and limited capacity for grasping and understanding facts, figures and statements. I however promise that I shall pursue such inquiry as I can during the moments that I can snatch from my present work, and if I can say anything useful I shall write to you. You on your part will not hesitate to give me all the facts you can.

Yours,
BAPU

PROF. N. G. RANGA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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561. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[1]

SRIRAMPUR,
December 19, 1946

1. As to the National Flag, my opinion is that whilst we are part of the British Dominions it is but right and proper that in the Ambassador's Office in America the Union Jack is flown side by side with the National Flag. In view of the Muslim League revolt, I would go so far as to question the prudence of flying in America the Congress flag as our National Flag. But it is a ticklish question and you should ask, on this and the other questions, for the instructions of the Interim Government, not merely of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Every Ambassador carries written instructions within which he is bound to act. These he can neither diminish nor extend.

2. As to the second, India as she is at present cannot omit the Union Jack in foreign countries. Take instructions.

3. As to the third, there is a new British National Anthem, omitting all the objectionable words. I have no doubt that what was done in England only recently can be safely done by the Indian Ambassador in America. Whether we can sing *Vandemataram* or *Jai Hind* or the Tricolour song at the same time should be decided by the Interim Government.

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[1] The questions were asked by Asaf Ali, who had been appointed Ambassador to the U.S.A. and were sent through Pyarelal: *vide* pp. 321-2.

4. The Ambassador's speeches where audiences are purely or predominantly Indian should be in Hindustani first and he can translate the same into English whenever occasion requires it. For pure American audiences speeches should be only in English. It would be pompous and unreal to deliver before American audiences speeches first in Hindustani and then translations in English.

It should be remembered that the most polished Ambassadors have read their speeches which they have prepared or have been prepared for them in advance.

From a copy : Asaf Ali Papers. Courtesy : Aruna Asaf Ali

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562. LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY

SRIRAMPUR,
NOAKHALI,
December 20, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I wrote to you three letters — one dated 3-12-46[1] on the general situation, a second dated 4-12-46 regarding Sardar Bahadur Sir Datar Singh's suggestion and a third in reply to your letters of 2nd and 3rd December.[2] I am sorry that all the letters have remained unanswered. I can only ascribe to heavy pressure on you the absence of any communication from you.

I took the liberty of sending to Abdulla Saheb three complaints which had come under my notice — one of very recent murder, another of rape and third of loot. He was good enough to call on me yesterday and to tell me the result of his investigation which he was good enough to hold very promptly. The first one he said was true as to the event itself but not sustained about the culprits named. I believe the guilty parties are being traced. The second has been found by him to be a concoction. The third is found to be true and is being pursued. For me the relevance for the purpose of this letter lies in the fact that the trouble is not over and the fear is not wholly without foundation. Indeed, complaints have been almost daily coming to me showing how difficult the problem is. If you can possibly regard me as a well-wisher of your Ministry and of the Muslim League, you will please continue as you began to let at least one Minister to be on the spot and keep himself in touch with me. If this expectation is too great or cannot be fulfilled, you will please tell me whether you approve of my keeping in touch with the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police to whom I could directly refer the matters which come under my notice and which I consider to be worthy of being put before them.

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[1] & [2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 185-6 and p.195.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Just as I was about to sign this, two messengers from Comilla came in and handed me your letter. I have not read it. I am letting this go and shall write again if necessary.

THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF MINISTER OF BENGAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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563. LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY

SRIRAMPUR,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
December 22, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I sent you yesterday by way of postscript a mere acknowledgment of your letter of 15th instant which came in as mine was going for despatch. I observe that Bihar is still on your brain and that you are evidently so worried by the many cares of office that you have not taken the trouble to read my letter carefully, for you have quoted me from memory which has proved a false friend even to men of genius rightly proud of their memory. If you don't mind, let me assist you by quoting the relevant portion from my letter of 5th instant referred to by you.

> If I find any confirmation of the most serious statements made by you about Bihar, I confess that I have egregiously blundered by resuming normal diet. But I am loath to reject the testimony of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, both responsible men and persons who had gone specially for the purpose of seeing things for themselves and allaying mob fury. They admit that the behaviour of the Hindu crowds was bad enough in all conscience but they do not bear out the statements made in your letter nor do they uphold the figures given by you. They also tell me that mob fury has subsided and that the Government have regained control undoubtedly with the assistance of the military. If I could feel that my presence was at all necessary in Bihar, I assure you that I would not need any encouragement from you to do so. On the contrary, my informants assure me that my presence is not required in Bihar. In these circumstances, unless I feel sure of my ground, I know that I must not go to Bihar. But I would like to make the assurance doubly sure and with that end in view

> I would be glad to get your permission to send copies of your letters to the Prime Minister of Bihar and know his reaction. There too you will pardon me, will you not, for not taking your statements as gospel truth. For one thing, you have no first-hand knowledge of events. I suggest that there should be impartial commission, appointed with the consent of the two Governments, to go into the disturbances both in Noakhali and Bihar. If your statements are true and the callous behaviour of the Bihar Government, which you so graphically describe, can be sustained, it is a bad day for the Bihar Government, a bad day for Hindus and good-bye to restoration of friendly relations between the two communities, and it would be a serious question for me to consider where I stand. The least I can permit myself to say is that then I should have no hesitation in publicly denouncing the Bihar Ministers and Bihar Hindus. I would plead with you to suspend, if you at all can, final judgment in the matter.

To this, which I hold is a full and frank statement of my position, you were good enough to reply :

> I was a little bit taken aback to read in your letter that having heard something from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Babu Rajendra Prasad you thought that nothing had taken place in Bihar to justify your presence there.

I hope that the juxtaposition of the two quotations is enough to demonstrate to you the wholly unwarranted inference drawn by you. But if you still maintain in the correctness of your inference I shall gladly endeavour to demonstrate the unwarranted nature of your inference.

Further, you say :

> I do not know . . . whether they said that there had been no murders, loot, massacre, rape, abduction, conversion or cruelties of unimaginable bestiality and brutishness.

I suppose, in support of this charge you have the report issued by the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, of which you have been good enough to send me a copy. In parenthesis, I may say that no other copy was received or seen by me. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad admit loot and massacre but they do not admit rape, abduction and conversion in Bihar and if "unimaginable bestiality and brutishness" are used to convey more than has been conveyed by the words preceding, I would like you to instruct me as to the exact implication of the phrase. I had a visit only the other day from Pandit Dhanraj Sharma, M.L.A. (Bihar Congress). I try to get as much information as I can from those who come to me from Bihar. Perhaps, it will interest you to know what he had to say about the charges such as have been made in the Bihar report referred to above. I have read the main parts of that report and I must confess that it is not a balanced document. Its framers have failed to convince the reader of a fair measure of impartiality. Be that as it may, it carries no conviction to me and is in flat contradiction to what all my informants have given me including Pandit Dhanraj, a copy of whose letter I am sending you. The Bihar report confirms the suggestion I have made to you for the appointment of an impartial commission of inquiry. To this suggestion of mine, you have omitted to make any reply. Now that I have got a copy of the report of the Bihar Provincial . . .[1] suggest to them the appointment of such a commission. I shall certainly tell you of the result.

You proceed to say :

> It is true that it is the Muslims who have suffered in Bihar and not Hindus.

And then you insinuate,

> therefore, perhaps, your going to Bihar will not have any effect in re-establishing confidence amongst Muslims but the problems are by no means dissimilar.

Let me say that I do not regard the Muslims to have less claim on my service or attention. However, I admit that my going to Bihar for the time being will fail to re-establish confidence amongst Muslims. I must not go into the causes at this stage. I cannot help deploring the fact. This distrust is so utterly baseless. I regard myself as an efficient servant of India. Let me tell you, whether you as a late friend and other members of the Muslim League believe me or not, that I am here to regain the lost confidence. Nothing will move me away from Noakhali unless the lost confidence is regained, which will be the case if the Hindus and Muslims in these districts trust one another without needing the presence of the police or the military.

I observe that insistence on my leaving Noakhali is gathering volume. You also share that feeling. I urge you to show me how my presence offends and ask you to instruct the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police to keep a strict watch on my movements and tell these gentlemen in what way I have been erring.[2] Let me repeat my assurance that I have come here with no intention whatsoever of sowing dissension between the two communities or to prefer the interest of Hindus over that of Muslims. I am doing everything I can to dispel all fear and the spirit of helplessness. I have told you how the fear is still persisting. I do wish that I could support your hope that the process of confidence and rehabilitation is making progress.

I must say I do not know that dissensions at the centre are widening nor have I the slightest notion that "the Congress has accepted the lead of the great Hindu Mahasabha leader, Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji". Throughout its long career it has never accepted the leadership of anyone who has not been avowedly a whole-hearted Congressman.

As to the rest of the points covered by my three letters whose receipt has been acknowledged in your letter under reply, I shall await a further and considered reply.

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[1] The source is mutilated here.

[2] Only this one sentence has been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVI, p. 254.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl : 1
THE HON. THE CHIEF MINISTER OF BENGAL
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

564. LETTER TO PYARELAL

December 22, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

Sushila's letter has brought me no peace. I have not the strength or desire to argue any more. I wish I could unsay whatever I have said by way of arguments. I may not mention her name, speak of her or write about her letters that others may see — these are conditions impossible for me to fulfil. I therefore do not propose to write except in specific public interest.

But I do think it necessary that for my satisfaction you should visit her from time to time and write to her at least one letter every day and ask for reply.

In my opinion either she is out of her senses, or I am. I do not notice the symptoms in me. This incident has nothing at all to do with what Devdas, etc. wish. I do not wish to turn her away. The cause of the friction is that I do not wish take any service from her. I do not see how I can make it my duty to take service from her.

I consider the present spectacle very bad for Manu. I have given my soul to protect her and I am still doing it. I wanted to achieve two purposes by letting her come : first, she would be in a better situation and, secondly, you would be restored to normalcy. But for that, I would not have accepted her conditions. When I feel the need I may take service from anybody. But how can anyone wanting to serve lay down conditions ? If your attitude is the same as Sushila's, you too must consider whether you should continue any relations with me. What personal benefit can you have in remaining with me ? If you continue to be with me under pressure or unwillingly, it will do no good to you or to Sushila or to me. The position which Sushila is maintaining is in my opinion against dharma.

Why should a personal question of this kind arise at this moment at all ?

I believe that you can keep nothing secret from Manu. That is what I have understood from you. I have not even liked the note, of which she has no knowledge. As for Sushila you can tell her (Manu) that from sheer helplessness you must withhold things from her. As I have understood you, you have absolutely no reason to hold back anything from her. If you have not understood how I have presented your case to her, ask me, and I shall again try to explain it to you.

You need not give me a copy of my letter to Sushila, nor of my letter to you. I did express the desire to have copies of both the letters but it is not important.

You can write or tell Sushila anything you wish out of this letter or the whole of it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

565. LETTER TO J. ASKELTON

SRIRAMPUR,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
December 23, 1946

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 10th instant[1] received here on the 17th. As an English Divine has said, when a man does his duty he is really discharging an obligation. We shall have come to a pitiable condition when the discharge of an obligation becomes a cause of merit. In doing the little I am able to for Bihar and Noakhali, I am doing no more than a serious attempt to discharge an obligation. My firmness is at present on its greatest trial. Shall I be able to stick to truth and non-violence in word, deed and thought in the midst of the greatest suspicion, distrust and exaggeration ? I, therefore, appreciate the addition of your prayers to mine that I may not fail in the examination.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SGT. J. ASKELTON

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Shushila Nayyar

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[1] Thanking Gandhiji for the wonderful work he was doing in the distress areas of Bihar and Noakhali

566. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS*[1]

December 26, 1946

QUESTION 1. Would it not be better to have pure joint electorate with reservation of seats, than the half joint and half separate electorate which we have today ?

ANSWER 1. The answer to your Ist question is yes. Second is very difficult.

Q. 2. When you speak about the removal of untouchability among Harijans, to whom do you refer ? Which section among us ? For many among us. scheduled people, consider themselves higher than the rest.

A. 2. I agree with you that the removal of untouchability among the so-called untouchables is more difficult than its removal between caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus, i.e., untouchables.

Q. 3. Will not our coundition truly improve only when Congressmen take up Harijan service in earnest, rather than leave it to the fitful efforts of political adventurers among Scheduled Caste people ?

A. 3. The answer to your 3rd undoubtedly yes.

Q. 4. Could not men like Sarat Babu, Kiran Babu do something to spread the message of the Congress among the Scheduled Castes ?

A. 4. I think the gentlemen you name have done their best to spread the message. Many others who have more leisure have been doing for a long time the class of work referred to by you.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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567. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

December 26, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

It was fortunate I did not have to go to Comilla. But I must say that as long as we are living independently in separate villages, it is good to give up the temptation of going anywhere—even to the Working Committee meetings. For the present, all attention must be concentrated on our respective villages. Then only can we hope to succeed. It is a difficult task. But that alone is worth doing. I am also not interested in attending the Working Committee. But it may be my duty to attend.

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[1] The questions were asked by Vidyadhar Mandal, President, Namashudra Hitaishi Samiti.

Even for that I would not like to go far. You will understand this more when you come here. I hope you have not allowed the hand pricked by thorns to become septic.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

568. LETTER TO PYARELAL

December 30, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

You certainly should have proper food. A soldier must keep his body fit. You must always keep with you *roti* or biscuits. If you take with it some coconut it makes a complete diet. If you ad to it some *gur* it will make a complete, diet (I have tried all this). So, even while being on the march, it can be eaten at fixed times. You will have read in the *History of [Satyagraha in] South Africa* that during the march to the Transvaal, I ate while walking. If you do this you will never have to depend on anyone. You can take whatever fruit is locally available.

You have agreed that you and I should never talk keeping Manu apart. You cannot entertain any doubt about her at all. Hence I advise you to convey to her the purport of our talk. Show this also to her. Then whatever bad feelings she may be having will automatically come to the surface. Affection can never last till the end. It will certainly did not last in this case. Hence you must be cheerful and confident and inspire in her as much confidence as possible. Letting her know of your doubt will be an act of loyalty. Then you must do whatever you can without entertaining any doubt. God belongs to everyone. He will do as He wills. I am doing only that. I am having her sleep close to me. She sleeps naked but sleeps soundly. She has to be woken up whenever there is work, be it at 2 o'clock or 3 o'clock. I consider it a very good sign that she is able to sleep like that. I have known it since the Aga Khan Palace days that she is quite unself-conscious. The main thing was that she should be with me, in my care and associate with you and learn. That has happened. Now we must all wish that only what spontaneously occurs to her will happen. Only then will she be completely free from fear.

That you want to conquer is my own expression. You must learn to understand my language. The English word 'conquer' is of no use to me. I can never utter the word in that sense. The conquest that I am talking about has to be achieved by everyone. It is religion. We have to conquer untruth by truth, violence by non-violence. How nice if you could unlearn English reading and English thought ! What I am asking for is that you narrate to Manu all the incidents you have mentioned. It would be nice if you could let me know. I should follow it better in the written form This would be an act of service to Manu. It would never mean betrayal of her.

For the present we cannot all three of us hope to be together. What is possible is that when you come, the three of us may occasionally sit together.

It is not proper that I would keep you with me right now. The present *sadhana* consists in our being apart. The most glaring example of this is Abha. Abha has risen thereby and I think she will rise still higher. Bapa is happy and looks happy. As we absorb ourselves in our work, God will bring us together. And even if we have to sacrifice ourselves while being apart, no harm will be done. I shall not feel sorry in the least if Amtussalaam passes away while she is fasting. She is brave and it seems what she has done now has been after proper thought.

I agree that you are missing something by being away from me at this time. But what you are gaining in the process is much greater.

Hence, you must know that the time of disappointment is now past. I do not think I have anything more to say now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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569. LETTER TO PYARELAL

SRIRAMPUR,
December 30, 1946

CHI. PYARELAL,

If I have understood correctly what Sushila has said is startling. I get the impression that you have been terribly disappointed. You have not told me everything about Manu. You are not even eating properly. If you have concealed anything from me for whatever reason, it is all over for me. I think there is some misunderstanding. At least it is clear to you that I have brought Manu for your sake, is it not ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

570. NOTE TO PYARELAL

SRIRAMPUR,
December 30, 1946

It is amazing you do not realize that this is impossible. I am no God. I have no doubt that you are telling the unadulterated truth. But I am not in a position to compel. Had I not believed you why would I have bothered so much ? You do not know how much I have talked to her and how much I have tried to persuade her. You may speculate but you seem to be having doubts about the propriety of my efforts. How can I dispel your doubts ? Try to depend on God if you can.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

571. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

AS FROM KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ POST,
DISTT. NOAKHALI,
CAMP : CHANDIPUR,
January 4, 1947

DEAR PRAKASAM,

I have your two letters dated 10th and 11th [ultimo] and telegram sent from New Delhi. At the time of dictation they are not in front of me. I am dictating this in the small hours of the morning. I am glad the fast of Sriramulu[1] ended in the happy manner you describe. He had sent me a telegram immediately he broke his fast. I know he is a solid worker though a little eccentric.

I am glad too that Shri Daniel Thomas[2] never delivered the speech attributed to him.

About the Madras quota spindles I am absolutely clear. If I were the Government of Madras as you are and I had the backing of public opinion in the shape of mass opinion I would do this in spite of the manufactured opinion of interested parties and, if the worst happened, I would pay for the spindles of my quota and yet not use them. I regard mill-owners' and Chamber of Commerce's opinion to be interested in the sense that they and their supporters have made up their minds that what is good for them is good for the whole of India. It is not a question of honesty and dishonesty, it is a question pure and simple of conflict of ideals. Of course, it is open to these gentlemen to retort that in my sense the opinion of the masses may also be called interested. If such be the argument I would hold that the interest of the masses as conceived by them must prevail over that of the classes. It is conceivable that in certain cases the opinion of the classes may be intrinsically right and that of the masses intrinsically absurd. This to my mind is the crux of democracy. Hence, as the Government, if I am confident about the backing of the masses, I would tell the Centre that my Government would pay damages for breach of contract if that be the legal result. I must serve the masses to the best of my ability.

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[1] Potti Sriramulu had been fasting to secure temple-entry for Harijans in Madras Province ; *vide* Vol. LXXXVI, p. 242.

[2] Minister of Prohibition, Madras

Jajuji tells me that the scheme you have announced has not been put into operation.[1] If you do not strike the iron while it is hot the whole thing might become stale and might not produce the anticipated result. Of course, I am utterly out of court here because I do not know full facts.

Blessings from
BAPU[2]

SHRI T. PRAKASAM
PREMIER
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Vide also Vol. LXXXVI, p. 282.

[2] In Devanagari

572. LETTER TO PYARELAL

January 6, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

Read the enclosed letter from Nirmal Babu[1], have Sushila read it and then return it. I advise you not to come here for the present. I have had a long talk with Dev.[2] I am taking a lot of work from him. He will write more. Manu has developed a terrible dislike for things. If you come it will only be aggravated. I came to know about it from Nirmal Babu's letter afterwards. Manu has lost her equanimity. Kishorelal's letter has played a great part in it. If instead of worshipping her, you worship God — if it is possible for you do that – then everything will become easy. If you cannot do that, then everything will go awry. Maybe even this *yajna* will come to nothing. And if that happens I shall be the main culprit, not any of you. But this is all too long to tell. I can see that you will not be able to have Manu as wife. If God wills otherwise, it is another matter. But if you on your own try to accomplish your design, Manu, who is with me, may be lost to you and she will certainly never learn anything from you. But if you pray to God to grant her as your wife, you will be able to have her as a pupil. This is a hard situation. Do what you can. I cannot see anything else.

Dev will write the rest. It will be good if you share all this with Sushila. Do show her Nirmal Babu's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Nirmal Kumar Bose

[2] Devprakash Nayyar

573. LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY[1]

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P. S.,
NOAKHALI,
January 9, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

As you are aware I am on the move from day to day and this is the third day[2]. I have had varied experience on the first two days which is worth noticing. On the first day at Mashimpur at the evening prayer there was *Ramdhun* as usual. The Muslim part of the audience stayed there during the *Ramdhun* and then some of them withdrew at half-past five without saying why they were going. I observed that it was not time for evening *namaz* because the sun was still shining. So I asked one of my co-workers to enquire why they had gone. They quickly replied that they did so because *Ramdhun* was recited at the meeting. I, therefore, spoke about the withdrawal a report of which you must have seen in the papers.[3]

Yesterday was a pleasing contract. I was accommodated at Fatehpur by Maulvi Ibrahim Sahib in his madressa. He and his fellow-Muslims were very kind and very attentive. The Muslims attended the prayer meeting in large numbers. I had enquired beforehand whether they had any objection to the *Ramdhun* and they said they had none. But they would like us to have no *tabla* or accompaniment because the meeting would be held practically in front of the mosque. I at once saw the point and without a murmur told my companion, who was in charge of the tour, not to have any such accompaniment. The Muslim part of the audience sat out the whole meeting and Maulana Ibrahim Sahib took part in it and spoke affectionately about the programme.

Today however, at Dashpara, I observed that at first a poor Muslim had consented to have me on his farm. But later on he recanted and said he would not like to run the risk of the resentment of fellow-Muslims. And so I am on a plot of ground owned by a Hindu. The population in this village is overwhelmingly Muslim, there being 350 Muslim families to sixteen Hindu families.

I do not mention this by way of complaint. I had expected varied experience both pleasant and unpleasant. I bring this to your notice in order that, if you felt like it, you might use your influence in the direction you must consider right as a man not as the Chief Minister. You will readily do so if you realise that I am engaged on purely a mission of peace and as an equal friend of both the parties.

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[1] A fragment of this letter has already been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVI, p. 330 under the date-line January 8, 1947.

[2] Of a village-to-village walking tour; ibid., pp. 318-9.

[3] ibid. pp. 323-4.

I enclose herewith a copy of a statement made by Dr. Varadarajan Pillai. It seems to be an extraordinary thing if it is true. I have asked Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, whom of course you know and who is with me, to write to the Magistrate. But I felt that I should bring this matter to your notice.

There are other things that have come under my observation. But I am anxious not to tax your energy more than necessary. For the time being therefore I forbear.

One thing more I had forgotten to mention earlier. In this village (Dashpara) Muslims told some Hindu friends that all my attempts at bringing about real friendship between the two communities must fail so long as I go about fully protected by armed police or military, by whatever name these guards may be called. The fright of the military keeps them from coming to me and asking all sorts of questions for the resolutions of their doubts. I do see some force in their argument. There will be none if either community was really brave. Unfortunately both lack this very necessary human quality. I would, therefore, like you to reconsider the position and if you feel convinced, to withdraw this escort. I do not need it. I even feel embarrassed and it certainly interferes with my *sadhana*. If you think that a firm and unequivocal written absolution from me will solve your difficulty I would be quite prepared to consider any draft that you may send me for signature. Failing that I suggest your making a declaration that on a satisfactory assurance being given to you by the Muslims in the area through which I may pass regarding my safety you will withdraw the escort. If this happens it will be a dignified procedure. I will certainly appreciate it and it will produce a good effect all round. I hinted at some such thing at the prayer meeting this evening .

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library . Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

574. LETTER TO DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, TIPPERA

GANDHIJI'S CAMP,
NOAKHALI,
January 10, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Under instructions from Gandhiji, I beg to draw your attention to an incident which happened in Gandamara village on the 2nd instant. He is personally very much interested in the case, and would be anxiously awaiting any information received from you. The statement of Dr. Varadarajan Pillai speaks for itself. You will surely agree that as long as the mentality revealed is not changed, things will not return to normal.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

DISTT. MAGISTRATE
TIPPERA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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575. LETTER TO MARWARI RELIEF SOCIETY, RAMGANJ

CAMP LAMCHAR,
NOAKHALI,
January 11, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Mr. Hashmar Ullah Khan came to see Gandhiji with a request to expedite certain payments which are due to him on account of rice supplied to your relief camp at Chatkhil. His letter in original as well as enclosures are being sent to you. Gandhiji wishes you to enquire into the matter and say how far the case is true. After receiving your reply, he will pursue the matter further if necessary.

Yours sincerely,
NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE OFFICER-IN-CHARGE
MARWARI RELIEF SOCIETY
RAMGANJ CAMP

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

576. TELEGRAM TO KAFI KHAN

[*January 12, 1947*][1]

KAFI KHAN[2]
POST BOX 653
BOMBAY

AMTUSSALAAM FASTING AGAINST MUSLIM MISCREANTS. SEVENTEENTH DAY. NO CAUSE ANXIETY. ONE OF YOU MAY COME IF YOU THINK NECESSARY.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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577. NOTES TO PYARELAL[3]

January 13, 1947

You must bear whatever comes. We must accomplish what we have set out to do. We must experience everything. When we have abandoned all fear, why worry ?

* * *

In my view you must draw comfort from her happiness. If you trust her, I consider it your duty to do as she says. But if you do not think it is your duty, you should certainly not give up your fast. I shall bear everything. But Manu's case is different. This thing is clear to me. For the present, your duty is to forget her and be absorbed in your work. And that is the way of winning her. Be the result what it may. Understand, if you can, that there is no other way of being absorbed in the thought of the loved one.

* * *

This is not something mechanical. It should spring from the heart. A parrot utters the name of Rama. What the parrot does is mechanical and hence useless. In the work that I am doing, my work itself is the name of Rama. That is how I am proceeding and that alone is correct. If you can understand this, give up your fast and feel happy. If this is not convincing, then keep the fast.

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[1] From the reference to the seventeenth day of the 25-day fast by Amtussalaam; she began her fast on December 27, 1946 and ended it on January 20, 1947; *vide* Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 375-6.

[2] Brother of Amtussalaam

[3] The following notes to Pyarelal, all bearing the same date, were scribbled on separate bits of paper, presumably at different times of the day as it was a silence day for Gandhiji.

* * *

You are unable to give up the idea of having her as your wife. Whether or not you can give it up only God knows. What is to be done when you do not understand what I write ? I have compared her to Ramanama. We utter the name of Rama to find Rama. But we must do His work to find Him. If even now you do not understand, think over it. Do not take my time.

* * *

In this way the situation will further deteriorate. When did I rebuke you ? If you see rebuke in what I said can we go on ? I do not even know if she talked to you before or after my suggestion. Now from what you say it seems you are beginning to have doubts about her purity. You are not able to forget her in spite of my writing so much. I appeal to you that even if you cannot forget her leave me out of it. All this is included in my letter, which you said, you have understood.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

578. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 15, 1947

I see from the papers that you are in Bihar exactly as I am in Noakhali, only, if the newspaper reports are correct, you are literally alone. My being alone is a fraud. Do let me have a line from you about what you are doing. I suppose it will be too early to enquire what success you are meeting with. Here the task is tough. My ahimsa is being weighed on the balance. Heare I represented throughout life real ahimsa of the brave ? If so, it ought to find response from the Muslims at least of Noakhali. I cannot give you any forecast yet. I am acting as, according to my belief, God guides me from moment to moment.

I enclose herewith a copy of a telegram received from Peshawar.[1]

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[1] The telegram dated January 11, from some Akali Sikhs in Peshawar reported deterioration in the communal situation in N.W.F.P., with murders of Hindus and Sikhs, looting of property and desecration of temples and Gurudwaras.

Can you at all say whether the version given is likely to be true ? I have telegraphed to Dr. Khan Saheb and the friends in New Delhi.[1] In order to save time I am dictating this letter through the good offices of friend Rangaswamy whom you know as one of the important reporters of *The Hindu* (Madras). I cannot write Urdu as yet with facility. Pyarelal and Sushila I must not fall back upon although I see them often. They have their village-work cut out for them and neither they nor I should be exposed to any temptation.

KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN SAHEB
C/O CHIEF MINISTER
BIHAR GOVERNMENT
PATNA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

579. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

AS AT KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 15, 1947

DEAR BROTHER,

Here is a copy of a telegram received by me. I know you are in Calcutta in Dr. Bidhan Roy's good and able hands. At this time you ought to be spared all the trouble from friends who seek your assistance and advice. But I thought that you would perhaps know the facts much more than anybody else and give truer guidance. Hence, this trouble.

I have telegraphed to Jawaharlal, Sardar, the President of the Congress and Dr. Khan Saheb. I purposely refrained from sending a wire to you in Calcutta. This too will be delivered to you by hand.

I have seen your statement to the Press about your acceptance of office in the Interim Government. It is quite good and I have not the slightest doubt that your presence in the Cabinet will be of great service at this very critical juncture.

I hope you will make rapid and solid recovery. Please do not hurry over the treatment. A medical adviser is entitled to consideration from a patient. That he happens to be a close friend of the patient should prove no disqualification from title to consideration if only because consideration shown to a medical adviser is really consideration shown to oneself.

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, p. 357.

About movement here I dare say you glance at the newspaper reports of my words at the prayer meetings. I have put myself on trial as to whether I am an exponent of true ahimsa or only ahimsa so called. I am not relying upon Pyarelal or Sushila for my Urdu work though I see them often enough. Pyarelal is with me today, this being the last of the fifth village within his beat. If I do not follow this rule the whole superstructure will come to pieces and the distribution of the party in affected villages will be a mockery.

Yours,
GANDHI

MAULANA SAHEB
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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580. TELEGRAM TO BAQI KHAN

January 16, 1947

BAQI KHAN[1]
CARE TATA CRAFT
TATA GARH
CALCUTTA

YOUR WIRE. SENT WIRE TO KAFI KHAN[2] REPORTING FACT AND SUGGESTING THAT IF ANY OF YOU WISH TO SEE HER YOU SHOULD COME THOUGH SHE HERSELF IS PERFECTLY AT PEACE AND DOES NOT WANT ANY BROTHER TO COME.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Brother of Amtussalaam

[2] *Vide* p. 341.

581. LETTER TO GLYN

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 16, 1947

MY DEAR GLYN,

Pyarelal has shown your letter to me as also your letter to him. Your statements are good and I find no inconsistency in your attitude. I have always held that one's wife being really the better half is entitled to full consideration and equal share in all one's undertakings. This is specially true in your case. I have no doubt that she will share your wish to the fullest extent. But in any case this is not a matter you can decide through mere exchange of letters. Therefore, your desire to go to her and discuss your projects with her was quite correct.

I do not think I need say more at this stage. There will be time enough I expect for an exchange of letters between us and of course Pyarelal will write to you more fully.

My love to you and yours.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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582. LETTER TO S. WOLFF

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 16, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter which Pyarelal read to me. As you know, he and others of my co-workers are distributed in the affected villages of Noakhali. Therefore, it is not possible for me or him to overtake all the correspondence. But your letter could not be ignored. Hence, this hurried reply.

Distance lends enchantment to the scene. Let India remain the enchanted island of your imagination. I do not think that you need to come to India in order to learn yoga in practice. My own Ashram is no exception to the general statement I have made. India has its full share of bad men if she has also her share of good men. Yoga in India of which you read in books is not much in evidence today. What it was like in her palmy days, I do not know. Therefore, I cannot encourage you to come to India.

I would advise you strictly to remain where you are and perfect by practice and discipline the system you have found so attractive. The field of service is limitless and I have no doubt whatsoever that it is no less so in Palestine where terrorism appears to be the order of the day.

Yours sincerely,

S. WOLFF, ESQ.
PALESTINE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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583. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 17, 1947

DEAR PRAKASAM,

I got yesterday your air mail letter of 9th instant. This means six days and you will know for your information how far I am from the haunts of so-called civilization. I got also your telegram yesterday saying that you would be sending a special representative with documents and instructions. I shall await them.

Meanwhile, I have hurriedly read through your Advocate-General's opinion[1]. In the place of his signature there is a blank. The opinion is very elaborate and instructive. Will you, however, tell the Advocate-General that it would have been very helpful if he had summarised his conclusions and also if he had framed questions he has answered. Better still would have been if you had stated a case for his opinion. Then you could have sent to the Press for public information the question and his answers. The public would not be interested in the elaborate legal argument with which he has backed his conclusion.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] In the dispute with the Government of India in regard to supply of spindles to Madras, which the Madras Government decided not to use, in keeping with its policy not to promote mill production of cloth

584. LETTER TO HAMIDUDDIN AHMED[1]

KAZHIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 17/19, 1947

DEAR HAMIDUDDIN SAHEB,

I thank you for your letter of 10th instant received by me only yesterday. I understand the cause of delay that took place in replying to my letter. I do not propose to enter into any controversy with you. But I propose to confine myself to removing misunderstanding that lurks in your letter.

A statement of mine about the happenings in Noakhali would have been premature, for the impressions formed have been damaging and facts that come to me even now are disturbing, if they are true as at least some of them seem to me to be. The volunteers who are working are not under my guidance or discipline. Their removal is surely the function of the Government. I can only remove those whom I have brought with me. I have already told Saheed Saheb that if for any reason whatsoever he finds the presence of anyone of them to be harmful to the country, he has but to serve a notice on them and they will go away without a murmur. I have excepted from the category only myself and a grand-daughter of mine who is with me. Of course I know nothing of the subversive activities of any of the volunteers. But if the report received by you is true and I were in your place I would certainly see to it that those responsible for such activities were summarily removed. I have no recollection of your having ever suggested to me to get rid of any volunteer. I would like you to tell me what I have said in public about the Bihar Government or the report of the Bihar Muslim League. I have been most reticent about these things. I have certainly entered into correspondence with Saheed Saheb and others. But I am not aware of having said much in public.

I am sorry that I cannot accept your advice about Bihar nor can I endorse your estimate of the situation if I were in Bihar. My firm opinion is that I could not do service to the Muslim cause by going to Bihar. Immediately I feel that I could, I assure you that I would not wait for any prompting from you or any other friend. I have been in correspondence with friends who know and they dissuade me from going to Bihar, and that for very good reasons. But I must not go into it at this stage.

---

[1] Parliamentary Secretary, West Bengal Government

You astound me when you tell me that you found Hindus were not the least enthusiastic about peace committees. When we last parted, you left me under the impression that you at least were going to stay in the district and see through the working of the peace committees and you then appeared to be very enthusiastic about all that was happening at the formation of the peace committees.

Of course I should like you to visit this district again irrespective of whether I still "require any explanation".

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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585. LETTER TO PYARELAL

January 17, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I am writing this with a trembling hand at 6.35. I do not have the letter before me. I have of course signed the letter to Glyn.[1] You can send away the Sikh if you wish. Everybody has gone from here yesterday. I have kept only Sardar Jivan Singhji.

I have given your letter to M. It is in his box. He will at least write a couple of lines. You must be absolutely calm. I shall follow your suggestion as far as I can.

You say you have sent the books. They have not reached me. The bearer of the letter did not give me the books. I remained in my bed till late in the afternoon. More later. A lot remains to be said.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have a long letter from Sushila. I want to send it to you. That too later. If she is there, tell her I cannot write right now.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* p. 345.

586. LETTER TO KRISHNA VALLABH SAHAY

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 18, 1947

DEAR KRISHNA VALLABH BABU,

I enclose herewith a copy of Barrister Ali Hussain's letter and my reply.[1] What about the newspaper report of your opinion ? For ready reference I send you also the cutting sent by the Barrister. Please favour me with a reply.

What about the promises you made to me when we met ? The enclosure is by no means the first of its kind. But the other things I did not consider it important enough to worry you about.

Blessings from
BAPU[2]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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587. LETTER TO PYARELAL

January 18, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

You sent a whole pile yesterday. Do not do it. Leave everything to God. Let us do our duty and then leave everything to God. Your letters indicate something else. I do not think it is correct. Manu is agitated. She is trying very hard. She works the whole day. How will she manage everything ? Leave her also to God's mercy. Her legs are better. Whatever treatment was given was given only by me. I am taking care of her food, etc. You continue giving her lessons. Let me know if you have any particular suggestion regarding her diet.

You persist in your attitude that secrecy should be maintained. This is a great obstacle. This restriction is not right. I know it. In abiding by it even my diary becomes soiled, and I have the feeling that I should discontinue writing it.

---

[1] In his letter Ali Hussain had criticized the Bihar Government and ministers for their mishandling of riots and their leniency towards rioters.

[2] In Devanagari

I am sending today Sushila's long communication. That will give you some idea. As for me, I have fully abided by her wish despite my disinclination. But do not be impatient to know about it. You will know it when she tells you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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588. LETTER TO PYARELAL

January 19, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

There is no time at all to write to you at length. I am now finding the burden of work too heavy. I am hoping to lighten it. I have interpreted the word 'secret' just like you have done. I am pondering over what my duty is. Kanu may do anything. If Manu is right and you are right, Kanu too will understand. Manu's intrepidity deserves to be encouraged. If you must fast whatever the circumstances, let it be on Saturday. You should give it up after full understanding. Keep giving lessons to Manu. Good lies in surrendering wholly to God.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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589. LETTER TO PYARELAL

January 21, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your letter. It is all right that you played a trick with God and sent it just at the time of breaking the fast. I do understand why. . .[1] is taken away. It is certainly not with me.

I assure you it will be no hardship for me to send the blanket. I am sending it along. Manu will manage about the milk powder. The diary is going with this letter. You can return it at your convenience. Why should I be in a hurry ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] One word here is illegible.

590. LETTER TO PYARELAL

January 23, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your letter.

No new man is needed. Ramachandran suddenly arrived and I did not think it proper to turn him away. Parasram insisted. He stayed on. Now he has gone but it means no loss. Manu is getting the help she needs. She has to learn to solve problems. A new person will be an obstacle in her education. Besides, so far as possible we must engage only a Bengali. It is only proper. Now if this new man turns out well, train him. Do not send anybody to me.

It has to be considered whether or not Jivanji will have Parasram. It does not quite suit me. If his place is not with me, then he is certainly free. This is a point to be understood. If you have not understood it, there is no time at present to explain.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

591. LETTER TO MAHOMED TAYABULLA[1]

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 24, 1947

DEAR TAYABULLA[2],

I have your recent letter. I cannot understand this panic on the part of the Assamese. It is panic which always unhinges man, much more so when it seizes a large number of people. The resolution passed by the A.I.C.C.[3], if it is correctly reported in the papers, gives enough if not clear guidance to Assam for it will not compel Assam to act against the declared wish of the people through the Legislative Assembly. Second, naturally Assam has to watch the future developments and act as occasion requires. It would be unwise to take any precipitate action. Whatever action is taken must always be taken so as not to impair the autonomous character of the constitution of Assam. There need be no confusion in anybody's mind.

---

[1] A fragment of this letter has been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVI, p. 392 under the date-line January 26, 1947.

[2] President of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, Appendix VII.

You will please write to me further if what I have written is not quite clear to you.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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592. TELEGRAM TO JIVARAJ MEHTA

[On or after *January 24, 1947*][1]

DR. MEHTA
16 ALTMOUNT RD.
BOMBAY

YOUR LETTER TO SUSHILABEHN.[2] SHAKUNTALA SHOULD NOT COME EAST BENGAL.

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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593. LETTER TO SYED NASIRUDDIN[3]

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DT.,
January 25, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[4] You belong to a great University and hold the degree of M.A. But I am sorry to have to tell you that your letter is wholly unbalanced.

You will let me serve Hindus, Muslims and others in the best manner

---

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's letter to Sushila Nayyar dated January 24, 1947.

[2] The addressee in his letter had recommended a young woman, Shakuntala Shrinagesh who was keen to work in Bengal with either Sushila Nayyar or Sucheta Kripalani.

[3] An extract from this appears in Vol. LXXXVI, p. 391.

[4] Of January 11, in which the addressee had said that, as the leader of the aggressive community, Gandhiji ought to have toured those places where "appalling and horrible atrocities have been committed by your community".

I know. If fail I shall feel sorry. But I cannot change my programme according to an opinion which does not appeal to my reason.

As to your note about the Noakhali Muslims, I should think that you should take your complaint through the proper channel. Have you written to the Provincial Government ? If not, I would suggest your doing so at the earliest moment.

I refuse to draw the distinction between aggressive and non-aggressive communities. This I say apart from the merits of the Pakistan controversy. It is enough for me to claim to belong to India, irrespective of caste or creed. Religion is my personal concern. It ought not to interfere with my duty as a citizen of India.

Yours sincerely,

SYED NASIRUDDIN SAHEB
ADVOCATE
ALIGARH (U.P.)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

594. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

January 25, 1947

CHI. SATIS BABU,

This is surprising. Yes, do file (the case), but did I not say that we should pass on the case to Su. and say that we on our part wanted to do everything but some letters from Chowdhury Saheb have not come ? Consider what is appropriate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

595. LETTER TO PYARELAL

At night, January 26, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your letter. It is all right about the man from England. He will work well if he comes. Write to him.

In my view it will be good if as far as possible you check your desire to come. I am saving time. I do not like to talk. There is a pile of work. I am not able to do justice I should to the villages. The body is unable to give more work. I must be content with whatever service it gives.

Ramachandran came yesterday. He says he is now calm, physically and mentally. A bed was made for him on the floor of my hut. The place is now becoming smaller. I like it.

Hunnar has come. Let us see how he turns out. He is quiet. You will find everything in the diary. I am trying to fill it as much as possible. There are shortcomings and they irk. Once that feeling disappears it would be almost perfect. If that does not happen, the fault will be mine.

Manu is doing a lot of work. She has no time left for reading. I cannot give time for that. But it would seem she is shaping up. You had promised to send her some Sanskrit lessons. Send them.

Now it is 5.30 in the morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

596. *LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI*

January 26, 1947

CHI. MRIDU,

Tendulkar casually gave me your letter. Tomorrow a telegram will go to you : "My opinion adverse." It is 7.45 in the evening now. There is no post office or telegraph office here. Everything will be carried by someone to a telegraph office tomorrow. This letter too will be posted tomorrow.

If you do not wish to live with me or near me what will you do? The work here is complicated. You may gain something by being with me. But I do not see any good in that. If it is granted that I stay here, then I would like your coming. Right now it is with great difficulty that I am able to keep even the few who are already here. Troubles are endless.

You will know more when Tendulkar gets back.

How could the letter written to you have been lost ? I still feel that you will get it. I do not even remember the contents now to enable me to write again.

I cannot swallow the idea of abortions. I can understand the argument about the children thus conceived having to be brought up. If you can convince me about the advantages of abortion it will be another matter. Western sisters who were considered great failed to convince me. In this respect I am impervious.

Are you keeping good health ? Are you taking care ?

Sardar is deliberately spoiling his health.

Jawaharlal is very careless. It is amazing how he is able to carry on. Who can harm those whom God protects ?

I heard today that Jayaprakash has reached here. He may pay me a visit tomorrow. I am told he is at Kazirkhil.

I see from the newspapers that Major General Shah Nawaz is in Calcutta. I do hope he will come to visit me. Niranjan Singh Gill came today and has gone back. His work also is incomplete.

My boat is being propelled only by faith.

I think I have written to you that Manu is here and sleeps with me, seen by all and with the knowledge of all. This has nothing to do with the experiment. The experiment is stopped; though I still have no doubt as to its relevance. It is stopped only because of the colleagues.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11259. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

597. LETTER TO S. G. A. AGHA

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 27, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

This is in answer to your question.

1. It is a fact that I was hurt at the behaviour of many Muslims who sat out during the prayer and left when I commenced my address.
2. I did say that I could not give up Ramanama at the bidding of any person or even if the kingdom of the world was offered to me; for Ramanama was to me the same as Allah, Khuda or God.
3. I do hold that God of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, Jews and others is one and the same, no matter by what name a votary mentions Him or recognizes Him. The idea is not my own. But I have learnt to believe that it is universal.
4. I do believe that all religions have equal status and that they are like leaves of the same tree. No two leaves are identical though they are from the same source.
5. It is a fact that in my daily prayers the *Gita*, the Koran and the other religious texts find place. You have but to procure a copy of the prayer book published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad and others to find what they are. Nothing is my composition.
6. My religion embraces Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc., for the simple reason that I believe them to have an equal status. It is not a combination sweet or otherwise. Every religion has its own place even as every leaf has. If I believe in the equal status of all the leaves of a tree, it is not a combination of my make but a recognition of a scientific fact.

Yours sincerely,

ADVOCAT S. G. A. AGHA
ZAMINDAR
DADY (SIND)

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

598. LETTER TO ASHRAFUDDIN AHMED CHOWDHURY

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 28, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry. I reached your letter only today. In the constant movement I feel called upon to do from day to day the letter was mislaid and it was discovered yesterday by chance in my unassorted and undocketed papers whilst I was searching for another document. From the trend of my answer you will see that nothing has been lost by the delay for which I must hold myself responsible.

You have done well to give me your views briefly. Having had such views before me often enough I have no difficulty in giving you my reply.

1. I do not think that leaflets and pamphlets can do any good at the present moment. Unfortunately for the country those who have any influence over the masses have already made up their minds and closed them against any criticism. In such a state of society I feel that the kind of activity you suggest must fall flat. You should know also that such an attempt has been made[1] before and is even now being made, in my opinion without producing any appreciable effect.

2, A volunteer corps such as you have in view could not be formed. If by any chance it is formed its effort will be discounted. Before that happy time comes it is necessary for each party or community to form its own corps of sincere Muslims and Hindus who will work for peace without any mental reservations. Out of such a band of selfless workers of Hindus and Muslims a combined corps is bound to come into being. Unfortunately we have not such men in any appreciable measure.

3. I doubt if there are many Muslim missionaries. But if there are even a few, there is nothing to prevent them from doing this valuable mission work. You say it is necessary to secure such service. My experience covering a period of sixty years tells me otherwise. Such services are not secured. They are freely given.

4. Of course it is possible to organize a volunteer corps of Muslims only. The pity of it is that it has not been done up to now in a proper friendly manner.

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[1] The source has "done".

5. I have already said that a combination will be premature. Of course I have no knowledge of what the Congress organization is doing here and indeed elsewhere except such knowledge as is of no use being vague. I hope you realize your suggestions do not require money but men and women of the right type. Are they available ?

Yours sincerely,

ASHRAFUDDIN AHMED CHOWDHURY SAHEB
97-A SOUTHERN AVENUE
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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599. LETTER TO PYARELAL

January 29, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I forgot to reply to your note concerning Shahpur. I am having to work in such rush.

Join Dr. Gupta's committee. But Gupta himself should be told that the local Muslim doctor should not be boycotted. Why should the local doctor not be on the committee ? You may also consult the Muslims.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

When should I send the diary ?

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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600. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 30, 1947

DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have yours of the 20th instant about Shri Bhargava's offer[1] from Katni. The gentleman wrote to me probably at the same time that he wrote to you and I replied promptly. I cannot lay my hands on a copy of what I wrote. But the purport was that there would be no ladies [willing] to go so far. I think I told him also that I did not like his laying stress upon Hindus.

---

[1] B. K. Bhargava had made an offer to maintain and find a home for a 100 to 200 Hindu families from East Bengal.

In my wandering I did not find that there is any inclination on the part of the sufferers to go out of Bengal. Nor do I think it wise. For if they cannot, out of fright, return to their village homes, they will all be accommodated in other parts of Bengal. A large number are already in Assam. Some have gone to Bihar because there is a large Bengali settlement there. My own effort is to send them to their villages, to make them shed all fear and to dissuade them from forsaking their ancestral homes. Nevertheless, if there are any who would like to go to Katni, of which there seems to be no likelihood, I would of course bear Shri Bhargava's offer in mind.

Blessings from
BAPU[1]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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601. LETTER TO M. ISMAIL

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
January 31, 1947

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 21st January, enclosing copies of your telegrams[2] to Suhrawardy Saheb and me. In this age of reason why do you want to shelter Islam from reasoned criticism, especially when it is from a friend of Islam that I claim to be ? What I have said is, I claim, in consonance with the Prophet's teachings. Purdah as it is practised today in many parts of India is a mockery. Real purdah is purdah of the heart of which I spoke at the meeting referred to by you.

You will not make me responsible for everything that may be attributed to me in the Press, which I do not even get time to read. Let me inform you that what I said at the meeting I have believed and said for over half a century. Let me also inform you that what I have said I have learnt from Muslim friends.

Yours sincerely,

M. ISMAIL SAHEB
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] In Devanagari

[2] Which read : "Madras Ulemas' meeting held under auspices of Primary Muslim League, Royapettah, Madras, says Islamic Code ideal. Please desist from pronouncement against Islam. Muslim nation will not tolerate interference with Islamic tenets."

602. NOTE TO MANU GANDHI

January 31, 1947

How long you detained me ! I just sat there holding the coconut. Then I got tired and put it down. For me this was heavy going. Besides, you held up my work. You should have waited a little, or, kept a vessel handy. Then the floor too was dirty.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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603. TELEGRAM TO VINAYAKRAO CHANGOLE

[After *January 31, 1947*][1]

VINAYAKRAO CHANGOLE
SECRETARY
DEPRESSED CLASSES LEAGUE
NAGPUR

WIRE RECEIVED YESTERDAY. DO NOT KNOW FULL FACTS. CONSULT VINOBA OR VALUNJKAR.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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604. LETTER TO ATINDRA MOHAN ROY

SATGHARIA,
February 2, 1947

DEAR ATINBABU,

I have your note. I think you are unnecessarily agitated. I refuse to tax my mind even as to the proposed section until it becomes part of the constitution. And in any case there is no harm in your corresponding with the President of the Congress.

I am destroying your note.

ATINDRA MOHAN ROY
SECRETARY
TIPPERAH DISTRICT CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE
COMILLA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This was written on a telegram postmarked January 31, 1947.

605. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, BIHAR PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE*

SATGHARIA,
[On or before *February 3, 1947*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 15th [ultimo][2]. It came into my hands on the 31st. The Prime Minister of Bengal did send me a copy of the resolutions of your working committee, but I did not know that those were sent to me at your instance. If I had understood so I would undoubtedly have sent you an acknowledgement. So far as I know I have made no public statement with reference to resolutions of your report. But I do confess that they do not bear the impress of sobriety. And many statements appear to me to be unbelievable. Nevertheless, as you should know, I have made strong recommendation that the Bihar Government should appoint an impartial commission of enquiry into the whole of the painful episode.

I should be very sorry if your statement about Dr. Mahmood is proved to be true. I am, however, enquiring into the matter.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K.GANDHI

THE SECRETARY
BIHAR P. M. LEAGUE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Gandhiji was at Satgharia on February 2 and 3, 1947.

[2] The source has "instant". The addressee had informed Gandhiji about the "unimpeachable instances of human monstrosities in which the Hindus indulged during the period of Bihar carnage". He had criticized the Congress for its indifference towards riots.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, p. 434.

606. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 3, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I am sending to J. your letter to him. I think it is better to send also Vinod's letter to him. The letter you wrote to Vinod, I am sending to him (Vinod). I am enclosing herewith Manu's letter to you. She should not be hurt anymore. Let her talk to whomsoever she desires. In a way she is tied down at the moment as you are tied down. Even though you are tied down at my bidding, there is continued harmony between the two of you. Future should be entrusted only to God. You are still not doing it and because you are not doing it, Manu is becoming agitated too. This is not right. Either God exists and only His wish is done or He does not exist. There is no middle course. If He exists, there is no question of your breaking down. Even if you have Manu's good at heart, she must be entrusted to God and must be allowed to shape herself. What more should I write ? Wake up if you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From athe Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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607. LETTER TO GADIYA, HAJIRA AND M. M. NAGDEE

P. O. RAMGANJ,
NOAKHALI,
February 4, 1947

DEAR FRIENDS,

Gandhiji is in receipt of your letter dated the 22nd of January, 1947, in which you have spoken about Abdul Hamid Nagdee. He has not, however, heard from Nagdee Saheb as yet. But that is not of much moment. If you are in touch with Abdul Hamid please let him write directly to Gandhiji. Gandhiji wrote several letters to him but had no reply from him. If Abdul Hamid is ready to go to South Africa, Gandhiji would gladly find his passage on behalf of Abdul Hamid's father.

Yours sincerely.
NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GADIYA NAGDEE
HAJIRA NAGDEE
M. M. NAGDEE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

608. TELEGRAM TO KISHORELAL G. MASHRUWALA

[On or after *February 5, 1947*][1]

KISHORELAL
HARIJAN ASHRAM
AHMEDABAD

CANT DECIPHER NATHJI'S[2] ADDRESS. HE IS WELCOME IF HE CAN COME THOUGH I HAVE PUBLICLY DECLARED MY VIEWS.[3].

BAPU

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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609. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 6, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have gone through your letter, as also your letter to Manu. Come if you must. I do not see any good in it. That will show that you have no trust in God — I still say that you should leave Manu and yourself in the hands of God. I am giving it a lot of time. The more you try the more complicated the situation will become. There is nothing for you to explain. But if you are convinced that you cannot keep away for the present then come. You can serve Manu better from there if you so decide. Understand that I am not preventing you, but if the picture I have presented can help you to check yourself then stay back.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Manu says : "I would not know. You can write what you want."

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of February 5, 1947 which read : "Guess statement being reconsidered. Suggest invite Nathji for discussion before taking irreconciliable step. Nathji's address Shanti Kunj, Bazar Dadar."

[2] Kedarnath Kulkarni; *vide* also p. 378.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, p. 420.

610. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 7, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

Your agitation disturbs me. My mind works in a way contrary to yours. In such a situation, one must follow one's own counsel. So come. Sushila Pai has just arrived unexpectedly.

What more should I write ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

611. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 8, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your letter. The diary is not ready today. I do not want to detain the courier. I also want to read your letter carefully. Hence, both the diary and the reply will be sent tomorrow. Be completely at peace and let us stop discussing this subject altogether. Let us only talk about work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

612. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 9, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

The lessons you give to Manu tend to be very long. I have read them today. Today's lesson is also long. She cannot digest such long lessons. She must be given short lessons and the handwriting should be big and beautiful like beads. Even I am not able to read these. There should not be so much scratching. She has made this complaint twice or thrice before. I have asked her to write herself. What I have written is only on my behalf. But Manu has seen it and she approves of it. Her grasp is slow. Moreover, right now she does not even wish to see all the letters that are received concerning her. Even so they affect her.

Now Shailen has come to read the newspaper. So, I should stop.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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613. LETTER TO A. ZAMAN

KAFILATOLI,
February 12, 1947

DEAR ZAMAN SAHEB[1],

Herewith I enclose report of an extraordinary situation. On the strength of declaration made on behalf of the Government, refugees have returned or are prepared to return. There seems to be no doubt whatsoever that grants are due to these people; and yet through some bungling between the C. O. and the President of the Union Board, the thing is held up.

I do hope that you will act quickly, for in such cases quickness is the essence of the thing if a breakdown is to be avoided.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Additional District Magistrate of Noakhali, who was in charge of relief and rehabilitation

614. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 12, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

Your handwriting is good on the first page. After that it has deteriorated. Even if it takes time, if you wrote just like on the first page, you would learn to write well. It would save a lot of time and one would like to read merely for the handwriting. It was for the sake of the handwriting that I read Jain's interesting account. I also learnt a new meaning of the word 'locust'. Now I shall also test Manu with interest on the same thing. It would be nice if you sent a story and a *sloka* on alternate days. It would be better that instead of Manu I think in the matter. Right now I am shaping her and I shall continue to do so as long as she does what I say.

Kishorelal, etc., are continuing their attacks.[1] It is better that you do not involve yourself in the matter. Only I should bear that burden.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

615. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 13, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

Do whatever you can about Shahpur. The task is very difficult. But it has to be so. Manu's lesson is as short as it should be. The handwriting is not big and beautiful. There is also shortage of space. It should not be so. Today this much is enough.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Gandhiji had been facing up to a bauage of criticism from friends over his experiment of having Manu Gandhi sleep with him; vide also Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 420 and 452-3.

616. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 15, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I received your letter just now. The lesson for Manu is attractive from the point of view of handwriting. It needs more meticulousness. As you become more meticulous, your handwriting will become as beautiful as pearls. Then I shall not only read it myself, I shall also make Manu read it. This time there are four pages. My suggestion is that just two pages will be sufficient. Manu will not be able to take in more at present because she has a heavy load of work and she does not wish to give up any of it. So she has no time left. I have not even asked her what she herself has in mind. I am not asking her even while dictating this. I am stealing even this little time. I am quite fatigued mentally and physically. The body wants to relax. Not so the mind. The mind is absorbed in Bengali. But the memory having become blunted the progress is slow. Swamiji is not here. As such, I am the only one left to teach Sanskrit. And I cannot spare time. One cannot say that even Swamiji was giving much time. Manu's development does not depend on learning all that. It largely depends on me. And so, it will depend on my efficiency and patience. I have not even in my dream considered keeping Kishorelal's letter, or any letter, secret from you. But I do wish to spare you mental anguish. But if you cannot check your curiosity it would be only proper that you should see it. So I am sending you the letter. Return it after reading. From my point of view, it contains as much ignorance as love. From his point of view, there is a whole group of people who believe that my practice is impelled by lust. How can I say that the view of this group is altogether wrong ? For, man does not know himself. You will not find any open accusation made in these letters, though in Devdas's letter it is openly made. Whether or not I am free from physical desire will probably be known only after my death. The term 'probably' is deliberately used, because it does not always happen that we are able to correctly judge a man after his death. Only God understands the heart of man. When I cannot say with any certainty about myself that I do not feel the weight of whatever is happening, who can say that about Manu ? She appears to be unconcerned, but she herself may not be fully aware of the turmoil in her mind. I am not bothering her about it. I am carrying on, leaving everything in the hands of God.

For me, all this is an inseparable part of the *yajna* and it remains to be seen how far my non-attachment can carry.

I have read both your papers. I am sending them back, though you have said that it is not necessary to return the second paper. Your reply to Satis Babu is correct. The reply about Dr. Chandra Shekhar is also correct. He must certainly be given medicines, etc. If possible, persuade him to reduce the use of medicines. More than medicines, what is needed is nursing and reassurance.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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617. LETTER TO HARI SINGH GOUR

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 18, 1947

DEAR SIR HARI SINGH GOUR,

I have yours of the 5th February delivered to me only today. Please do not ask me to make any public statement. With the support of so many distinguished men whom you mention you should find no difficulty. My own way of thinking always tells me that everything which has intrinsic merit succeeds sooner than later because it is like a straight line which is the shortest distance between any two points. If you have the League support your project will have plain sailing. But I see that you had not even an acknowledgement from Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah at the time you wrote to me. I hope you will secure his approval.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

618. LETTER TO RUKMINI DEVI ARUNDALE[1]

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 18, 1947

I have yours of the 6th instant delivered to me today. Much as I should like to have you here you can have no idea of the trouble you have to undergo in coming here unless you travel by air transport. Even so I am in a part of the country where there are no motor-roads worth the name. I am at a far distance from the nearest aerodrome which is in Comilla. I am in no mood to shoulder any burden whilst I am carrying the one in Noakhali.

I am in full agreement with you that the worthy project that Dr. Arundale initiated has to be carried to fruition and that most of all by you. Of course I love to see you, *veena* in hand, leading the people into the way of truth and peace.

SHRIMATI RUKMINI DEVI
PRESIDENT
KALAKSHETRA
ADYAR
MADRAS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

619. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

ALUNIA,
February 19, 1947

CHI. MRIDU,

I got your two telegrams, and that was yesterday. I am today sending you a telegram in reply. You are worried but there is no cause at all for worry. So far my life has been running its course smoothly. More and more each day I see that it is all to the good. What I did at Sevagram was by way of an experiment. An experiment may be stopped any time. So for the sake of the colleagues, I had postponed it. I did not publish the statement for your sake or Bapa's sake. Here the situation is totally different. Sleeping with Manu is for me an inseparable part of the *yajna*. Why it is so need not be explained here. I shall explain when you come. Since this act of mine has caused an uproar, a great deal of my time is taken up with arguing with colleagues and pacifying them. But inasmuch as I consider this act part of the *yajna*, sparing that much time does not irk me. So you should carry on your work without getting upset. If you want to come only for this thing, I would urge you not to come. Kishorelalbhai by himself should be sufficient to persuade me to desist. But you wanted to come even otherwise, so I shall not stop you. Whatever it is, write to me freely. Ask me anything you want.

---

[1] Eminent dancer and wife of the English Theosophist George Sydney Arundale; founder founder of Kalakshetra, Madras

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11260. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

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620. TELEGRAM TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

[*February 19, 1947*]

MRIDULABEHN
CONSTITUTION HOUSE
NEW DELHI

RECEIVED BOTH WIRES YESTERDAY. NOTHING LOST BY PUBLICATION WHICH WAS INEVITABLE. FELT COMPELLED WRITE FRIENDS BUT COME WHEN YOU CONVENIENTLY CAN AND DISCUSS. IF I PERCEIVE THAT I HAVE ERRED SHALL GLADLY RETRACE STEP. MEANWHILE DO NOT FEEL UNEASY.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

621. LETTER TO E. STANLEY JONES

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 20, 1947

DEAR DR. STANLEY JONES[1],

It almost appears as if you had never gone to America. Trains and steamers have very effectively reduced distances. Air transport marks a further stage in that reduction. Nevertheless, I am not satisfied that it has increased the real happiness of mankind.

You have kindly referred to my tour in Noakhali. The result is in God's hands. You have mentioned Bihar in the same breath. I do think that the Bihar crime was much greater than that of Noakhali in magnitude. Man became brute; I hope temporarily only in both the places. But I haven't yet seen the light leading me to Bihar. If I can see that I should have no hesitation in going there. I am in constant touch with the ministers and the people of Bihar. So far as I can see there is real repentance. But I cannot positively swear that I am not being misled. Immediately I feel the call I should interrupt my work in Noakhali and hasten to Bihar. All I can say today is that I am on the watch. One thing I would add. I have come here to put my Ahimsa to test. I have no misgiving as to the effect of Ahimsa. But I am fully conscious that I may not know the whole technique and may not even be living up to what I do know. Therefore, I have submitted myself for examination here. Hence, if that examination demands my presence in Bihar I shall go.

I am glad you are organizing vigils of prayer. As to the letter you have enclosed[2] I do not know that I can render any service in the shape of sending a contribution. I do not think that I can send anything effective.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] American missionary, author of *The Christ of the Indian Road*, etc.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

622. LETTER TO ROBERT A. FANGMEIER

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 20, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter through Dr. Stanley Jones. Please do not ask me for any article at the present moment. Whilst I am shouldering the present burden I have neither the time nor the inclination to go outside the present task. Remuneration would have been no consideration for I never write for remuneration.

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT A. FANGMEIER, ESQ.
1236 11TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D.C.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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623. LETTER TO P. N. BANERJEE

AS FROM KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 20, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty has handed me your affectionate letter[1]. Much as I should like to give you a decisive answer I cannot do so and, therefore, I would not trouble you to come to this part of the country to fix up the programme and to appoint a convenient date. My hands are tied up here and I dare not leave this place until real peace is established which may never be during my lifetime. In that case, as I have said repeatedly, I should finish the rest of my life in the attempt here. But of course man can only propose. God disposes. It is just possible that I might have to go to Bihar so as to be better able to do the work here. But I do not think ahead of the future. In the words of Cardinal Newman 'one step is enough for me'.[2] For the rest Dr. Chakravarty will be able to tell you all for I had a long conversation[1] with him.

---

[1] In which the addressee had requested Gandhiji to preside over the Annual Convocation of the University of Calcutta

[2] The verse by Newman in his hymn "Lead Kindly Light" runs thus : "One step enough for me I do not choose to see the distant soene Lead Thou me on."

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

624. LETTER TO GOPINATH BARDOLOI

AS FROM KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 20, 1947

DEAR BARDOLOI[2],

Your letter of the 14th instant. Nirmal Babu who saw your letter suggested that one of his pupils might be induced to do the work mentioned by you. He will write to you as soon as he has heard from his pupil.

I hope all your troubles will dissolve.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

625. LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY[3]

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 22, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill[4] was with me yesterday having returned from Bihar. He has prepared a memorandum which I have glanced through. I suggested that he should submit it to you. As it was he had not shown it to the Prime Minister of Bihar. I told him that the memorandum was incomplete without its being seen by the Prime Minister. He perceived the appositeness of my remark and said that he was going to send a copy to the Prime Minister. If he feels that any of his inferences require correction he would make the correction and pass it on to you.

---

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVI, p. 483.

[2] Prime Minister of Assam

[3] An extract from this letter has been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVII, P.6.

[4] Of the Indian National Army, under whom a group of I. N. A. men were working in Noakhali

There is one thing which he has recommended, namely, that I should go to Bihar if only for a few days. As you will see Dr. Mahmud also, if his report is correct, thinks likewise. I am in constant correspondence with Dr. Mahmud. I want to check up the statement with him. I am also writing to the Prime Minister. If he also thinks likewise I will then interrupt my work here to go to Bihar.

I have seen in the newspapers a statement attributed to you which reads like a jibe at me. I would not expect that from you. Therefore, I give you the credit for believing that I have the "Inner Voice" to which I listen. My belief is that all mankind has it. But the outside din and noise have practically deadened it for the vast majority of people. When that voice speaks I shall find myself in Bihar without any further prompting.

While I am sending this to you I feel I ought not to omit mention of the fact that things are not as good as they might be and ought to be. I continue with some caution to worry the officials immediately concerned.

BENGAL PREMIER

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

626. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 22, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

It is 6.15 now and I must stretch myself. And if I feel sleepy, I must sleep. That is why I am dictating this letter. I read your lessons and I like them. It would not do your spoiling your handwriting and then asking to be forgiven. Asking forgiveness every now and again would be like following the English practice. That would not be proper. Your handwriting should be such that you do not have to ask forgiveness at all. You may write less. If you resolve that whatever you write will be in a beautiful handwriting, writing Manu's lessons in a beautiful handwriting will not be burdensome to you. Duty should never be a burden. And it is one's duty to make one's handwriting beautiful like beads. In spite of knowing this I myself do not follow this. You should consider it a failing on my part, and not imitate me in this.

I have sampled your other *roti* too. It was harder and there must be something lacking in it. If you have started making *roti* and if you have decided to do it, why not do it the way you formerly did ? In other words you had started mixing in it lime or tamarind juice or tomato juice. If you do that, the *roti* will be lighter and easily more spongy. In case you do not do that, I have already suggested *bhakhri*. It would turn out nice if you add sufficient oil in the dough. Do not think that you have to send it to me. You may send it whenever it is convenient to do so.

Sushila's letter is enclosed. I am very much impressed by it. If she is able to act according to the wish she has expressed in it, I shall consider it a great triumph in this *yajna*. You must also encourage her. Have I not told you that you, Sushila and Manu could play the greatest role in the success of this *yajna*. And even there, Manu would be undergoing the severest test. The indications so far are good. Its complete success would no doubt depend very largely on my own efficiency. On the one hand is the gravest doubt on the part of Kishorelal and others and on the other my stubbornness. My mind is oscillating between the two. But it bends more toward action.

There is only to act, not to think about the reward.

My letter to Parasram could go only yesterday. It was merely negligence on my part. What could I do ? Once the letter goes in the file, it is immediately forgotten. The moral of the thing is that everything should be promptly attended to. Whatever comes later, should also be taken up later. The diary came into my hand only yesterday. I am sending the previous one today.

At night, February 22, 1947

I have your second letter. I have already told Dev to send the *roti* tin. I do not know if it has been sent or not. And Dev is not here at present. I shall send William's letter. It would be a great feat on your part if Kalu Mian recovers. It is of course good that you are writing to him. I am writing about him to Kul Ranjan. He may be able to suggest something. You try applying mud-pack even on the eyes. I am doing it everyday. I am not using a piece of cloth now but applying the earth direct. Needless to say that the eyes must be kept closed. Jaya's letter is enclosed.

February 23, 1947

I am in a great hurry. Hence, I am sending this without revising. Now, send the papers about my subject.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

627. LETTER TO SHRIKRISHNA SINHA

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 22, 1947

SHRIKRISHNA SINHA,

I dictate this to you in English in order that it might be easier for you to make public use of my letter which I hope will never be necessary.

Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill saw me yesterday and gave me a report which he has prepared with reference to his summary visit to Bihar. I suggested that he should send you a copy so as to enable you to correct any mis-statement into which he might have been betrayed. I advised him too to send a copy to the Prime Minister of Bengal advising him at the same time that he should mark the copy as confidential till it has been checked by you and your corrections, if any, had been accepted by him and the Memorandum accordingly corrected. I hope you have got the Memorandum.

There is one thing in it which refers to me. Dr. Syed Mahmud and others would like me to visit Bihar. Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill endorses the suggestion. Do you feel likewise ? Please tell me unhesitatingly what you feel.

Now that you have announced your Ministry's decision to appoint an impartial enquiry commission as soon as possible I remind you of the proverb "he gives twice who gives in time".

BIHAR PREMIER

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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628. A SILENCE-DAY NOTE

February 23, 1947

Difference between defensive and aggressive is wholly unconvincing and meaningless. You can't blow hot and cold. Either have hate or love. I have already said how to deal with the want of seeds and instruments.

M. K. G.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

629. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI[1]

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 24, 1947

This is a very personal letter but not private.

Manu Gandhi, my grand-daughter as we consider blood relations, shares the bed with me, strictly as my very blood, not to give me animal satisfaction but as part of what might be my last *yajna*. This has cost me dearest associates, i.e., Vallabhbhai, Kishorelal, probably C.R. and others. This includes Devdas. I have lost caste with them. You as one of the dearest and earliest comrades, certainly before Sardar and Kishorelal, should reconsider your position in the light of what they have to say. Perhaps Sucheta will help you somewhat. She knows something of this episode. Am I worthy of the companionship of so many old associates ? I have given the deepest thought to the matter. The whole world may foresake me but I dare not leave what I hold is the truth for me. It may be a delusion and a snare. If so I must realize it myself. I have risked perdition before now. Let this be the reality if it has to be.

I need not argue the point. I have simply conveyed the intensity of my thought.

I suggest your discussing with Sardar and Rajaji. And then come to the conclusion and let me know. You have to think out your relationship not merely as a friend but as President. Of course you can share this with Jawaharlal and Maulana. Do not consider my feelings in the matter. I have none. All I want is to *do* the truth at all cost, as I see it.

Blessings from
BAPU[2]

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] Extracts from this letter have been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 13-4.

[2] In Devanagari

630. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 24, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

Herewith is a copy of the letter to the Professor.[1] You will learn from it what is happening. My association with *Harijan* now seems to have ended. I am not worried in the least. I am anxious about Manu's state of mind. All this is an ordeal for me. May truth alone triumph.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Send the papers about me.

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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631. TELEGRAM TO KEDARNATH KULKARNI

HAIMCHAR,
[On or after *February 24, 1947*][2]

NATHJI
SHANTIKUNJ
NAIGAM
CROSS ROAD
DADAR
BOMBAY - 14

READ YOUR LETTER WITH ATTENTION. IT CONTAINS MISSTATEMENTS. OBSERVE THAT WIDE DIFFERENCES EXIST BETWEEN US. NEVERTHELESS COME IF YOU CAN CONVENIENTLY AND WITHOUT INJURY TO HEALTH OWING LONG AND TIRESOME JOURNEY.[3]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* the peceding item.

[2] Gandhiji was in Haimchar from February 24 to March 2, 1947.

[3] The addressee, along with Swami Anand, came to Bihar on March 14 and held dissuesion with Gandhiji on March 15 and 16; *vide* Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 89-92.

632. TELEGRAM TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

HAIMCHAR,
[On or after *February 24, 1947*][1]

YOUR WIRE. SENT LONG WIRE NATHJI.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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633. LETTER TO MAHENDRA PRATAP

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 25, 1947

DEAR RAJA SAHEB,

I have your wire. You are probably almost right not for the argument you have used but for deeper reasons. I have advisedly used the adverbs 'probably' and 'almost'.

Yours sincerely,

RAJA MAHENDRA PRATAP
BRINDABAN

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* the peceding item

634. TELEGRAM TO SYED MAHMUD

Express *February 27, 1947*

MINISTER SYED MAHMUD
PATNA

YOUR WIRE. NEWSPAPER ANNOUNCEMENT UNAUTHORISED. WROTE SHRI BABU[1] IF YOU ALL CONSIDER MY PRESENCE NECESSARY IN INTERESTS INJURED PARTY PREPARED COME EVEN EARLIER THAN EIGHTEENTH. WOULD LOVE TO STAY WITH YOU UNLESS YOU ALL DESIRE OTHERWISE.[2]

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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635. LETTER TO LUDWIG BORSCH

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
BENGAL,
February 27, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 11th ultimo.[3] Distance lends enchantment to the scene. I would, therefore, warn you against visiting India for the enrichment of your life. Life, as it is found in India, is wholly different from the life described in the best books on ancient wisdom in the East. I wish I could give you definite guidance on the selection of your diet. We in India, not excluding myself, have learnt much from English and American literature on the diet question. The ordinary Indian diet is unbalanced and is heavily spiced. Therefore, I would advise you to consult the many American and English text-books written on vegetarianism and more especially on the kind of diet. You will gain much more than I could give from this literature if you used discretion.

---

[1] *Vide* p. 376.

[2] Late in February Gandhiji received a report from Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister for Development and Transport, Bihar saying that the situation in Bihar was indeed serious and required his personal attention; *vide* also Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 28-9.

[3] In which the addressee had expressed his desire to visit India "to find and learn about those things, which in the material-minded West one regarded with a sort of pitying contempt" and sought Gandhiji's advice on diet.

LUDWIG BORSCH, ESQ.
66 TENIMORE STREET
BROOKLYN
NEW YORK

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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636. LETTER TO PYARELAL

February 27, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your two letters. If you send me the prescription for Satis Babu and anything else that is required, I shall do the needful. Pay the doctors fee if it must be paid. But you must know the way I feel, the way I acted in Bihar. Let us render such help as we can and be content. What you are doing for Kalu Mian is an ideal thing in my view. We should provide him personal service, give him proper diet and be content with that. For that purpose, a doctor is not needed. I followed this practice in Champaran from beginning to end. The doctors and the teachers were Ba, Durga, Manibehn Parikh, etc. It was very impressive and very rewarding. This is just to suggest what in my view would be the ideal thing.

I am convinced your good lies in controlling your desire to come. A.S. and Kanu arrived yesterday. I shall send the letter you have asked for. There is no hurry about it. Kanu and A.S. will also read it.

What you have written about *Harijan* is correct. It all depends on what Sardar finally does. It is hardly possible that he will now run it independently. But if he does, we shall remove your name. We have so far entirely depended on our *sadhana*, particularly mine. I am without fear. I am unconcerned. But it irks me that I have not yet cultivated non-attachment to the extent I should have. But in the end there must be the grace of God behind human effort. Without that, human effort is futile.

If Kalu Mian feels hot in the soles, I know the usefulness of a mud-pack. I think it should be used.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I received another letter just while this was going. It is a lovely letter. I have not been able to read the account of your activities and the lesson for Manu. I shall arrange to send the letter which you are so eager to read. I had completely forgotten what you wrote about Rajaji. If you write a letter about it and send it to me, I shall send it on to him. You can write to anyone from among Rajaji, Kishorelal, Narharibhai, Jajuji, etc. Do not worry at all about my health. Should not a person having faith in God be free from worry ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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637. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

HAIMCHAR, TIPPERA DISTT.,
February 28, 1947

MINISTER RAJAGOPALACHARI
NEW DELHI

YOUR WIRE. NINETEEN HUNDRED BALES PER MONTH REQUIRED. COUNTS TWENTY TO FORTY. PROBABLY GOING BIHAR FOR SHORT TIME.

BAPU

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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638. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

February 28, 1947

SECRETARY
NICELY
DURBAN

HAVE MADE PUBLIC STATEMENT SUPPORTING STEP ABOUT ROYAL VISIT.[1]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXXII, p. 28.

639. LETTER TO RAMDASIA MAZHABI SIKH FEDERATION

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 28, 1947

DEAR FRIENDS,

I have your letter signed by eleven members of your group. The names are typed instead of there being original signatures. I must confess my ignorance of the existence of this group. I do not know what I can do to remedy the difficulty you complain of. I feel helpless.

Yours sincerely,

THE RAMDASIA MAZHABI SIKH FEDERATION
THROUGH THE PRESIDENT
MISTRI HARNAM SINGH
P.B. SAMRALA
DISTT. LUDHIANA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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640. LETTER TO BUTT KRISTO PAUL & CO., LTD.

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 28, 1947

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for your prompt attention to my suggestions with regard to the first-aid box. I have examined the contents of the few box[es] sent by you. Whilst I was about to send you my considered opinion Shri Satis Chandra Das Gupta was with me and so I handed the box to him to examine it and give his expert opinion on the contents and the make-up of the box. Naturally I cannot hurry him. He is such a busy man. I will therefore advise you not to multiply the new pattern and await my considered reply. I have some what I think valuable suggestions. But having taken advantage of Satis Babu's presence I want to fortify myself with his expert assistance.

Yours sincerely,

BUTT KRISTO PAUL & CO., LTD.
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

641. LETTER TO A. J. MUSTE

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
February 28, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Muriel Lester has sent me your letter of the 27th September last which has remained on my file for some time. She has also given me a brief description of your selfless labours. How I wish I could send you some useful suggestions by way of help in what you very rightly term as crisis ! The aftermath of the last war is in reality much worse than the war itself if only because its bloodiness is so hidden from view that man deceives himself into the belief that he is at last safer than when the war was on.

I wish too that I could give you the assurance that India, when she has come to her own completely, will not join the race for the increase of armaments. I can only say that whatever I can do to prevent any such misfortune will not be left undone.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A. J. MUSTE, ESQ.

From a photostat : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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642. LETTER TO T. HAYES

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
BENGAL,
February 28, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1] of the 16th ultimo. I do not know that I can send you anything useful beyond saying that you should glean my writings on fasting in the columns of *Young India* later transformed into *Harijan*. Mr. Richard Gregg (The Putney School, Putney, Vermont, U.S.A) might be able to help you in getting hold of copies of this weekly.

---

[1] In which the addressee had requested Gandhiji to send him scientific or spiritual treatise on fasting

Yours sincerely,

ED. T. HAYES, ESQ.
7622 ROBIN ROAD
DALLAS 9, TEXAS, U.S.A.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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643. LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY[1]

KAZIRKHIL,
RAMGANJ P.S.,
NOAKHALI DISTT.,
March 1, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you have heard from the S. D. O. Chandpur, Tipperah District that I am endeavouring to leave for Bihar tomorrow. I wish I could say that I am trying to go because of your pressing advice to Fazlul Haq Sahib who spoke publicly the other day and repeated the same thing, though very courteously, on Thursday last when he was good enough to call on me. The memorandum of Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill about which I wrote to you on February 22, had predisposed me towards a temporary visit to Bihar. What decided me however was a long letter from Dr. Syed Mahmud who has sent it with his Private Secretary. In order to come to a final decision I sent a peremtory message yesterday through the good offices of Khan Sahib, the S.D.O. of Chandpur, asking whether the Bihar Chief Minister had any objection to my immediately proceeding to Patna. The reply may be received any minute. If I go I would like you to give me hints as to what I should see. The desire to go has arisen because suspicion has been created in my mind that all is not well in Bihar so far as the Hindu behaviour towards the Muslims of Bihar is concerned. The cause in either case, in Bihar or Bengal, is identical.

There was consternation among the Hindus yesterday when I announced my intention of immediately proceeding to Bihar. They said they were afraid of being molested as in October. I hope that the fear will prove groundless and that you will do all you can to allay the fear.

It is said that all aid in the shape of rations will be stopped from the 15th instant. If this information turns out to be true there would be widespread avoidable distress. The machinery provided for relief is very slow.

Sufficient material for building is not there. Weavers have got no yarn for weaving. Fishermen have got none for making nets. Carpenters have got no tools. Agriculturists have no bullocks. There are no seeds for sowing. Thakkar Bapa mentioned the difficulty of merchants in Haimchar for a loan in order to enable them to start business. He has prepared an application to be sent to you. It makes a businesslike proposition. I should have thought that people who have lost their all would be entitled to adequate grants for starting business. On the contrary, however, he offers even interest if it is required for the loan he proposed. I hope there will be no delay in granting the loan. I would strongly urge that interest should not be asked in such cases.

There is a strong belief that there is boycott by the Muslims of Hindus so far as labour for them is concerned. Of course I have said that no government can compel any community to labour for another. Critics have no difficulty in agreeing to my proposition against compulsion. They however suggest that boycott is approved, even encouraged, by your Government. I hope that my information is wholly wrong.

I am leaving a copy of this letter with Satis Babu of Khadi Pratishthan who is at present stationed at Kazirkhil and who will represent me during my absence which I hope will be only temporary and will be attended by success. Though my absence will be temporary I cannot omit to mention that so far as I am personally concerned the whole of the official world has been courteous and considerate to me and in this mention I include the police whom you have put to guard my person.

H. S. SUHRAWARDY SAHIB
PRIME MINISTER
BENGAL

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] An extract from this has already been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 31-2.

644. LETTER TO PYARELAL

March 3, 1947

CHI. PYARELAL,

I have your letter. You are unnecessarily worrying yourself. One for whom Ramanama is the unfailing cure would not beget [problems of] blood-pressure and would not hear the drumming noise in his ears. However, if both these do occur, he would bear them patiently and die while doing so. I have no doubt about the truth of this point. I do get [high] blood-pressure and get buzzing in the ears. This shows that I should depend on Ramanama rather than take medicines, thinking that Ramanama is not serving any purpose. It is true that this is not easily done. In the matter of the sacred task here, we should have recourse only to Ramanama. Even so, I did take *sarpagandha* yesterday. I do have doubts about its efficacy. My duty is to die in peace if it is necessary to die. Why should you be disturbed when I die ? You should work harder in that event. I still hope to recover only with the help of Ramanama. But if I have ceased to be of any use, it would be best to go.

I liked your *bhakhri* very much.

I have instructed Dev to send you all the papers that he can. Still I shall look into it.

I shall be leaving for Patna today. I want to stay there only for a few days. Dev, Hunar, Manu and Nirmal Babu will accompany me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

645. LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE

PATNA,
March 15, 1947

DEAR DR. MOONJE,

I got only today your letter of the 17th ultimo. You will appreciate my difficulty when I tell you that at present I have no time to read anything outside the scope of my present activity. But I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that if we succeed in driving [out] the twin demons of untouchability and the so-called caste, we shall have gone a long way towards removing the third demon, i.e., communalism.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

646. LETTER TO GEORGE WINTHROPLE

PATNA,
March 16, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Of course I am interested in everything about Thoreau and Emerson. My knowledge of Thoreau is confined to *Walden* and *Civil Disobedience* and some stray writings of his. *Civil Disobedience* was the work that gripped me. But I do not consider myself worthy enough for the purpose of identifying myself with any Thoreau Society.

GEORGE WINTHROPLE, ESQ.
CONCORD
MASSACHUSETTS

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

647. LETTER TO JAG PARVESH CHANDAR

PATNA,
March 18, 1947

DEAR JAG PARVESH CHANDAR,

I have tried desperately to overtake your letter received on the 26th ultimo. It is remarkable that you have not dated your letter.[1]

I did get your book *Is Grouping of Provinces Compulsory* ? and I noticed that you have answered the question in the negative. A trained lawyer in Nagpur has done likewise.

Mahadev I suppose did not have the same malady that you seem to have. In any case unless I know more fully I can't guide you. Moreover Mahadev had put himself under an Ayurvedic physician at that time, staying in bed. Of course he did so with my consent. Therefore you will see that I cannot appropriate full credit for such recovery as Mahadev had.

You will see that I am just now in Bihar for the same cause which took me to Noakhali which means that I have to attend to two. I would like you to tell me all about the tragedy that is still going on in the Punjab. Has your portion of Lahore also been affected ?

SHRI JAG PARMESH CHANDAR
8 J BLOCK
MODEL TOWN
LAHORE

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's undated letter which read : "Ever since December 22, 1946 I am confined to bed due to nervous breakdown. All my limbs are tied with the strings of fear. I am under the treatment of expert doctors but a few words of advice from you will carry more weight than anything else. Once the late Shri Mahadev Desai suffered from nervous breakdown and he was under your care. Please do spare a few minutes and let me know the treatment that Shri Desai underwent."

648. *LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY*[1]

PATNA,
March 22, 1947

I have seen your press note and I am glad that you had anticipated my request to you. I must confess that it does not give me much satisfaction. May we hold Pakistan Day celebration meetings in parts of Bengal where Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code is not in action or where there is no other prohibitory order ? And if meetings can be held indoors, are they not likely to be far more dangerous than public meetings ?

I hope you got my note[2] sent you through Arunanshu Babu last night.

H. S. SUHRAWARDY SAHIB
PRIME MINISTER
BENGAL
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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649. *LETTER TO SYED ZAFAR IMAM*

PATNA,
March 26, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 25th instant. It will be a matter of pleasure to me if someone on behalf of the League accompanies me during the tour.[3] I think Mridulabehn has already told the local League in the same strain. You will certainly be informed when the date for the visit to Tilhara is fixed.

In the second paragraph you refer to my 'inner voice'. Is this a gibe, a compliment or an unthought remark ? I ask this question purposely because I want all the help that the local League can render sincerely in the difficult task in front of me.

S. ZAFAR IMAM SAHIB
PATNA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

[1] Extracts from the letter have been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 137-8.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVII, p. 131.

[3] To Tilhara, to ascertain the true extent of damages caused to the Muslim lives, properties and holy places of worship during communal riots in Bihar.

650. TELEGRAM TO CHOATHMAL

CHOATHMAL
SECY. PROVINCIAL SWEEPERS' FEDERATION

[On or after *March 26, 1947*][1]

YOUR WIRE[2]. DIFFICULT ADVISE FROM HERE. SEE VINOBAJI, VALUNJKAR. ACT AS THEY ADVISE.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

651. LETTER TO SYED ZAFAR IMAM

PATNA,
March 30, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I see upto the time of writing you have not acknowledged my letter of 26th instant.[3] As unfortunately I have to go to Delhi, I hope only for a few days, I must refer to the first paragraph of your letter of 25th instant. I wish you would disabuse your mind of the impression that anything hangs on my actually witnessing all the damage done during the wretched carnage. I have, therefore, advised the ministers to be as speedy as possible in clearing all debris and rebuilding all damaged property. This essential work ought not to stop for a single day especially because of the impending rains. If there is anything, [any] particular damage which you would like me to see I would suggest your taking Shrimati Mridulabehn Sarabhai with you to see it. It would be as good as my seeing it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] From the postmark

[2] The addressee had requested Gandhiji's intervention in the ill-treatment of leaders of sweepers in Jail.

[3] *Vide* p. 390

652. TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

PATNA,
April 3, 1947

SATISH BABU
KAZIRKHIL
CAMP NOAKHALI

SEND BULLETIN IN ENGLISH.

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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653. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

DELHI,
April 9, 1947

CHI. MRIDULA,

I have your letter. I have gone through it. You must write without hesitation whatever you want. I cannot rush there in a hurry. I am in touch with Jawaharlal and others. I have your telephone number of course. Rajendra Babu saw me last night. He has asked for time. Tomorrow morning, that is on Thursday, I am meeting him again, when I shall know more. I know you will not panic easily. You must be getting help from Dev and Hunar. Dr. Mahmud should devote full attention to this work, if he is not doing so. Now you may be coming yourself and so there is no need for me to write more. Badshah Khan may go to Peshawar in a day or two. He is still agitated.

You have written nothing about the police trouble. I do keep thinking about it.

As I see it the situation here is pretty grim. God will put things right if such is His will.

I have written to you about coming a few days later. Come if you can be spared from there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 11262. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

654. LETTER TO HENDERSON

BHANGI COLONY,
NEW DELHI,
April 10, 1947

DEAR DR. HENDERSON,

I am glad to have your letter and to learn that we have corresponded with each other before.

I am, I confess, surprised at your question. He who believes in a living God never feels the slightest doubt about his mission, especially in a country which has regained its lost independence.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

20 A GOLBURN ST.
SYDNEY
AUSTRALIA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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655. TELEGRAM TO SAMUEL M. LEVY[1]

April 11, 1947

CANNOT CONTROL NEWSPAPER REPORTS. DID MENTION MOSES.[2]

GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated April 7 which read : "At the Pan-Asiatic Conference you did not mention Moses, the law giver who was the father of Monotheistic and human religions, whose precepts extended even to the Far East."

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXXXVII, p. 192.

656. TELEGRAM TO THE EDITOR 'THE HINDU', MADRAS

[After *April 12, 1947*][1]

PRESIDENT
EDITORS' CONFERENCE

YOUR WIRE. MY LAST DELHI ADDRESS WAS PURELY FOR JOURNALISTS. IN VIEW OF QUAID-E-AZAM JINNAH'S AND MY APPEAL[2] FOR PEACE AND THEREANENT TO JOURNALISTS IT BEHOVES THEM TO EXERCISE UNUSUAL RESTRAINT UPON THEIR PENS. I HOPE THAT JOURNALISM IN INDIA WILL RISE ABOVE COMMUNALISM AND INCITEMENT TO STRIFE.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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657. LETTER TO MOHAMMED HUSAIN KHAN

PATNA,
April 18, 1947

BHAI SAHEB,

Maulana Saheb gave me your letter of April on the very day I left Delhi. I read it after reaching Patna. I read all the enclosures too. The whole matter is painful. I am doing whatever I can. The result is in the hands of God.

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] & [2] From the reference to the appeal, jointly made by Gandhiji with M. A. Jinnah which is dated April 12, 1947; *vide* Vol. LXXXVII, p. 261.

658. TELEGRAM TO KAINARAYAM

[On or after *April 18, 1947*][1]

INTERVENTION DIFFICULT WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE PARTICULARS. ADVISE SUSPENSION PENDING INFORMATION. SECRETARY SHOULD RESIGN UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES MENTIONED.

GANDHI

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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659. LETTER TO E. STANLEY JONES

PATNA,
April 19, 1947

DEAR DR. JONES,

I got your letter this morning and am so glad to learn that you were able to visit Sabarmati and renew your recollections. I remember well how you missed looking glass in the room that was alloted to you, and how philosophically you took the absence of the article considered so useful in the West.

When the British troops, that powerful emblem of British rule, is removed from India that very fact will be a triumph, besides which every other pageant that can be conceived, must fade into insignificance.

I have no notion when I shall be able to leave my present haunt. I fully appreciate your prayerful sympathy in the task before me.

Please pass on my love to Mrs. Stanley Jones whenever you write to her. I don't know whether she is in India at present or whether she is in U.S.A. Please tell her that I remember the promise I hastily and ligtly made to her that I will, when I got the necessary leisure, write out a dialogue for the use of children in the many schools she was conducting. I never got the leisure. But what is more true is that the task was much more difficult than I had imagined and to this day I do not know how I could deal with the delicate subject of the evil habits of children.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : C. W. 11344. Courtesy : Mrs. Eunice Jones Mathews

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[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of April 18, 1947 which read : "Shaligram Shukla with wife fast unto death Harijan temple entry since sixteenth before temple owned by District Congress Secretary and Assembly member. Two others followed. Pray intervention."

660. LETTER TO B. M. DAS

PATNA,
April 20, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

I am surprised that you, an M. A. and Solicitor write a letter without knowing full facts. They are all to be gleaned from written records available to every student of modern political literature. I must therefore be satisfied myself by saying that you should study that literature and you will find that you will be unable to prove me guilty under any of your many counts. Incidentally I may add that whatever I am saying here to the Hindus I said unequivocally to the Muslims of Noakhali. For your sake I hope that no newspaper has cared to publish your very irresponsible letter. Why not write to me in Hindi and in the absence thereof in Bengali ?

B. M. DAS, M. A.
7 OLD POST OFFICE ST.
CALCUTTA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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661. LETTER TO SHALIGRAM SHUKLA

PATNA,
April 21, 1947

BHAI SHUKLA,

What is this telegram ?[1] Do fasts have to be undertaken for such things even now ???

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

[1] This was from Ananddas, Secretary, Raipur Ashram, informing Gandhiji about the addressee's fast for Harijans' entry into a temple owned by a Congressman; *vide* also p. 395.

662. LETTER TO SYED ABDUL AZIZ[1]

April 25, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your letter and the pamphlets. I must make time to read the latter.

It is impossible not to admire your courage in surviving your cruel disability and retaining your mind unimpaired. Mine was no mere social call. It was a pleasure to meet you and listen to you. I never expected you to return that call. You have but to tell me that you would like me to see you again and I would gladly do so.

I must confess that I had never realized until I came to Bihar the extent of damage to life and property by man become fiend for the time being. Let us hope that the awful scene will never be repeated in Bihar. My opposition to the formation of colonies is restricted to the Government co-operation even to the extent of land acquisition. I would have no objection to affected Muslims congregating in Muslim areas. There should be no check on free movement or congregation.

Your legal acumen should have prevented you from making the sweeping remark that I had ever denied the right of self-defence. That right does not and ought not to carry with it the licence to bear arms. A moment's reflection would show you its futility. What you want probably to convey is that it is the right of the citizen, however humble he or she may be, to demand protection by the State against the thieves, robbers and miscreants. A Government that fails to perform that duty forfeits all claim to govern. Let me add, too, that neither during my stay in England nor for 20 years in S[outh] Africa did I ever know a Westerner feeling incompetence to defend himself without arms when and if the occasion arose. Like several superstitions this one you name seems to be confined only to this unhappy land of ours. Your gibe at the ministers and incidentally at me, though wholly irrelevant to your argument, is well deserved.

I am wholly at one with you in your desire that the Congress and the League should live at peace with each other.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

---

[1] Extracts from this letter have been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVII, p. 354.

663. LETTER TO SYED ABDUL AZIZ[1]

PATNA,
April 28, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

Of course there could be no question of annoyance caused by your letters. You are too courteous to cause any. Where frankness is the common article of exchange nothing but good can be the result in the end.

If any of my actions were based on the attitude of the ministers I should be of little use here. I have come, if I can, to serve the Muslim minority in Bihar as I was in Noakhali to serve the Hindu minority. In so doing my fond belief was and is that I should serve the majority, too. Thus I was and am against pockets promoted by authority in either case and so against firearms. That way lies strife, not friendship whose roots are firmly fixed in love, not fear. Man can but perish in the attempt. Success is from God.

If the Hindus are to be considered as a hostile community for all time, I confess that the segregation is the safest policy. That is the logic of Pakistan which I have opposed, knowing full well that I might find myself in the minority of one.

When ministers and I cannot live without armed guards, you undoubtedly prove our cowardly impotence but do not sustain your argument for possession of firearms by impotent men. Fancy me carrying a pistol for self-defence ! ! !

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] This letter, except for the first paragraph, has been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVII, p. 376.

664. *LETTER TO SYED ABDUL AZIZ*[1]

PATNA,
April 29, 1947

DEAR FRIEND,

In acknowledging your kind letter[2] of even date, I must say that my impression was that our correspondence was meant for knowing each other better. But I have no objection whatsoever to your releasing the correspondence to the Press. I wish to add that what I have said to you about pockets and firearms I have said publicly many times in Bihar and elsewhere.

You are less than right when you say that "the policy of the Govt. . . for good"[3]. My policy is no firearms to civilians in the ordinary course and perfect protection to every citizen be he poor or rich. If I know anything of the Government of Bihar, they do not want Muslims or anyone else to surrender to the Congress or leave the Province for good.

From the original : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] The second para of this has already been reproduced in Vol. LXXXVII, p. 381.

[2] In which the addressee had desired that the correspondence between him and Gandhiji should be released to the Press so that the Muslims would know about Gandhiji's views that they would neither be helped to form 'pockets' nor be granted licences for firearms.

[3] The full quotation from the addressee's letter read : "The policy of the Government supported by you should help Muslims to decide either to surrender completely to the Congress or abandon the Province for good."

665. LETTER TO FRANCESCA STANDENATH

[*April 1947*][1]

CHI. SAVITRI[2],

I was delighted to receive your letter. Indeed I did not know you were alive. But then there is the saying that God keeps those whom he wants to keep even through most stormy weather.

The news you heard that I was going to the Frontier was wholly wrong. But where I am is worse than the Frontier. And yet one rarely knows what is good for us and what is bad. Therefore if we knowingly put ourselves in the hands of the Almighty, whatever happens must be deemed good. And I try literally to follow that precept.

Now that you have commenced writing you will continue to write as often as you can.

Tell me what is your feeling under the new condition ? What are you doing now for your living ?

Love from,

BAPU

SAVITRI *alias* FRANCESCA STANDENATH
GRAZ IN STYRIA
TRANTMANNDORFGOSSET
AUSTRIA

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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[1] As in the source. This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated January 23, 1947.

[2] In Devanagari

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM MIRABEHN TO M. K. GANDHI[1]

SUNDER BUN, JUHU,
June 12, 1944

BELOVED BAPU,

I have your letter. I had not realized the position regarding the fund kept in my name, and that my expenses were being drawn. I had the impression that the whole sum was being kept intact and that I was receiving food, clothing, travelling expenses, etc., like some others who gave their whole time to the cause according to their individual capacity. But this was a misunderstanding. So, I will gladly put the matter straight at once. I cannot bear any bargaining in such matters. I, therefore, ask that Rs. 20,000 should be deducted from the total, which should cover the expenses incurred by the Ashram for me during these 20 years. The remainder can be transferred to my name.

I had understood that when I had this money I should be free to do constructive national work without let or hindrance, so long as I made it clear that the scheme of work was entirely my own and without your personal approval. I did not realize that you would feel called upon publicly to express disapproval of my work.

You have given me my freedom with one hand and taken it away with the other. To give me my money and freedom, and at the same time to say that as soon as I begin to use them you will publicly disapprove, is to sabotage anything I may try to do. You at the same time sabotage any chance of my being able to prove to you that you are wrong.

You have brought up a whole lot of reports and prejudices against Sardarji. I have avoided discussing these matters with you because I could see that everything I said excited you. The result is that you have not understood my position. You have made up your mind that I am completely under his influence. It is you who have tried to urge me to that position, but as you know, I have protested all along. You said I should have to join the Communist Party. I said no. You said as a true Hindu wife I should have to follow him in everything. I said my opinion was the opposite, and that my whole instinct told me that I must resist him wherever necessary and live my own life according to the ideals in which I believe, by which means, he would some day know that I was right. If I had followed his advice, I should not have undertaken my scheme but I knew that I must resist him and I did. My faith in God is my guide. But now you propose to throttle, by the warning of public disapproval, any attempt on my part to put my ideals into practice. My ideals have not changed in the last few days. I am the same person that I was when we used to talk happily together.

Believing, as I did, that everything is finally settled I started the ball rolling. I have put out enquiries regarding co-workers, land, maps and other details. I have explained the scheme (as my personal idea) to many people. Must I now understand if I go on with my plans you will feel called upon to disapprove. The fact that there will be Rs 20,000 less does not worry me at all. I can start in a smaller way and make up with donations. But the possibility that you might broadcast public or semi public disapproval of my work, which statement I should feel obliged equally publicly to answer, means that for decency's sake I must avoid any such catastrophe, and therefore cancel all my projects of work. I would, in that case, take the balance of the money after the deduction of Rs 20,000, invest it somewhere, and go to live in seclusion until such time as you revised your ideas.

---

[1] *Vide* pp. 114-5.

Yours ever devoted daughter,
MIRA

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU TO M. A. JINNAH[1]

October 6, 1946

I have consulted some of my colleagues about the matter discussed by us yesterday and over the possibility of a rapprochement between the Muslim League and the Congress. We are all agreed that nothing could be happier and better for the country than that these two organizations should meet again as before as friends having no mental reservations and bent on resolving all their differences by mutual consultation and never desiring or allowing the intervention of the British Government through the Viceroy or others or of any other foreign power. We would, therefore, welcome the decision of the League to join the Interim Government for it to work as a united team on behalf of India as a whole.

The points put forward by you in our conversation yesterday were:

1. the formula suggested to you by Gandhiji,
2. the League not being responsible for the members at present representing the Scheduled Castes and the minorities,
3. what should be done in case any vacancy should arise among the members representing the minorities other than the Scheduled Castes
4. the procedure to be adopted over what may be called major communal issues, and
5. alternating Vice-Presidentship

Regarding No. 1, we feel that the formula is not happily worded. We do not question the purpose underlying it. We are willing as a result of the elections, to accept the Muslim League as the authoritative representative organization of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India and that as such and in accordance with democratic principles they have today the unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India, provided that for identical reasons the League recognises the Congress as the authoritative organization representing all non-Muslims and such Muslims as have thrown in their lot with the Congress. The Congress cannot agree to any restriction or limitations to be put upon it in choosing such representatives as they think proper from amongst the members of the Congress. We would suggest, therefore, that no formula is necessary and each organization may stand on its merits.

---

[1] *Vide* p. 305.

Regarding No. 2, I am to say that the question of the League being responsible does not arise and, as you do not raise any objections to the present constitution of the Government in this respect, there is no question to be solved.

Regarding No. 3, I am to say that if any such vacancy arises, the whole Cabinet will consider what should be done to replace the vacancy and advise the Viceroy accordingly. There can be no question of right in the matter of consultation with the League in regard to the representation of these minorities.

Regarding No. 4, your suggestion about the Federal Court is not feasible. Matters coming before the Cabinet cannot be made subject matter of references to court. We should thrash out all such matters amongst ourselves and bring up agreed proposals before the Cabinet. In the event of failure to reach an agreed decision, we should seek the method of arbitration of our own choice. We hope, however, that we will act with such mutual trust, forbearance and friendliness that there will be no occasion to go to such arbitration.

Regarding No. 5, it is out of the question to have any rotation in the Vice-Presidentship. We have no objection if you desire to have an additional Vice-Chairman for the Co-ordination Committee of the Cabinet who can also preside over such Committee meetings from time to time.

I am hoping that if your committee finally decide upon the League joining the National Cabinet, they will also decide simultaneously to join the Constituent Assembly or recommend to your council to this effect.

I need hardly mention that when an agreement has been reached by us it can only be varied by mutual agreement and not otherwise.

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Courtesy : Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

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